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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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20 MARCH 1987

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KOLBIN INTERVIEWED ON ULYANOVSK OBKOM WORK

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49, 25 Nov-8 Dec 86 (signed to press 1 Dec 86) pp 1-3

[Interview with G. V. Kolbin, CPSU Central Committee member, First Secretary of the CPSU Ulyanovsk Obkom, by V. Voronetskiy: "Confirming Demandingness and Justice: CPSU Central Committee member, First Secretary of the party's Ulyanovsk Obkom, answer our correspondent's questions"]

[Question] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, since people understand everything by comparing it to something else, I would like to begin our talk with some recollections. You have been heading the party's oblast organization for approximately three years. What have you come up against since taking on the job of the first secretary of the CPSU obkom? What have you seen? And what task have you set for yourself?

[Answer] How can I answer all that briefly? First of all, as a result of the lessened demandingness toward the administrative cadres, an atmosphere of allforgivingness was created in many collectives. Many people considered it the standard to receive your wages in accordance with your job assignment, but to work only as much as you could. Drunkenness, various kinds of illegal schemes, and instances of figure-padding occurred, and there were violations of legality. In a word, there was a rather large number of persons who did not administer, but ruled like princelings.

All this had a detrimental effect upon the oblast's economy and its social sphere. The rates of industrial development slowed down, agriculture lagged behind, the rate at which the public was supplied with food products and necessities of life was worsened, and tremendous difficulties with housing in the cities and with labor resources in the countryside were created. Even then, on the eve of the changes that were caused by the decisions of the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it was obvious that it was inadmissible to continue to run things that way. People were losing their faith in being able to correct anything or to change the course of events.

It might be possible not to mention any of this now, but the lessons of the past teach us the need to instill in people party demandingness and strictness, and to assert justice and honor in every Communist Party member's deeds and actions.

[Question] Where did you begin?

[Answer] First of all it was necessary to introduce order everywhere and to reinforce discipline and raise the work level of the administrative cadres. That was defined by the obkom plenum that elected me first secretary. We began with ourselves. At the very first closed buro session we considered the question of the letters, complaints, and statements that were being sent from our oblast to the central agencies with regard to the fact that a number of administrative workers had been abusing alcoholic beverages. First of all we made the highest demands on the obkom members and the first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms. We had to part with those who opposed that posing of the question.

One of the first to be relieved of his duties was A. Shein, the then first secretary of the party's Radishchevskiy Raykom. For 15 years he had headed the rayon's party organization. At first he worked rather well. Then it was as though he degenerated. Completely involved in the resolution of his personal problems, he attempted not to administer, but to reign and to enjoy life. The question with him, it seemed, was clear. However, the raykom members were not eager to vote to relieve him of his duties. No one wanted to speak.

It is difficult to resolve personal matters and is no easy matter to restructure one's life. But it was necessary.

There were also other managers who had become accustomed to working "in general," who reconciled themselves to shortcomings, who came to believe in their own infallibility, and also a few who came to believe that they were allowed to do anything. In this regard, strict demands were made on I. Kistanov, former first secretary of the party's Inzenskiy Raykom; A. Romanov, former first secretary of the Tsilninskiy Raykom; and other administrators.

[Question] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, don't the personnel changes in the oblast confirm the fears that some of our readers have expressed to the effect that persecution against cadres is in process here?

[Answer] I definitely do not agree with that opinion. The people who go astray are those who are not in tune with the standards of party life, who hinder the restructuring, who do not accept it, who are incapable of getting people to follow them.

Before releasing an administrator who has committed an offense, we give him the opportunity to correct himself. In the past, for example, a rather large number of claims were made against V. Tyamkin, the first secretary of the party's Novomalyklinskiy Rayon. He too had baronial ways. He was given a hearing at a session of the obkom buro and was issued a serious warning. And the person actually did change. Recently Comrade Tyamkin (he is working now in another rayon) gave an oral report on his work at a citizens' assembly, which is a form that we now make a broad practice of using. I was among those present at that meeting. I shall not conceal my profound satisfaction. I had expected that there would be complaints about the raykom secretary. But at

the assembly both the party members and nonparty members expressed their unanimous satisfaction with the high demandingness that that administrator makes on himself.

[Question] Is the oral report given to the workers by the secretary of the party's raykom and by other administrators one of the new forms of party work?

[Answer] Yes, in our oblast we never made it a practice to do this. I will say that this form is just as effective as the oral reports given at the primary party organizations by Communist Party members who are administrators. After the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 20,000 party members gave oral reports at meetings where the party performance appraisals were approved. It sometimes happens that this discussion, for some people, ends with serious consequences. For example, on the recommendation of the party organization, S. Shvetsov was relieved of his assignment as director of the Novospasskiy Paper Factory. Last year more than 100 administrators at various levels gave oral reports on their work to labor collectives, openly admitting their mistakes and omissions in their work. During the first six months of this year, 54 Communist Party member administrators gave oral reports to the workers. The people react especially sharply when the administrator reports not only about production matters, but also about the resolution of social problems. At all the enterprises in our oblast, for example, directors have given oral reports to the people who are on the waiting list for housing. We devote special attention to this question. We have firmly resolved that by the end of this five-year plan we shall provide a separate apartment to every family that was on the waiting list as of 1 April 1986. A large amount of work is being carried out, as well as a search for reserves for building housing by the in-house method.

The strict demands that the labor collectives have made on the party and economic administrators has enabled us basically to resolve the problem of assigning vegetable-garden plots together with small homes. They are being made by many enterprises in accordance with the established plans. During this year alone we turned over "under key" more than 8000 such vegetable-garden plots.

[Question] Who will replace the administrators who have left? How are things proceeding for the new people?

[Answer] As a rule, these are young, dynamic comrades. The average age of the first secretaries of our gorkoms and rayons has dropped by 3 years, and the second secretaries, by 5 years.

I will mention only one of them -- A. Yefremov, the first secretary of the party's Radishchevskiy raykom, whose oral report we recently listened to at the obkom secretariat. He is always in the midst of people. He is completely devoid of such "diseases" as arrogance and a know-it-all attitude, or indifference to a person's needs. He knows how to make the correct conclusions from critical comments. With the arrival of the new secretary who is skillfully managing the party organization, things in Radishchevskiy Rayon have begun to improve considerably. Previously people used to try to get away from the rayon. Yefremov became the initiator in the formation of stable

collectives in the countryside and is resolving that problem successfully. Last year, 18 apartments with all the amenities were built on every farm in the rayon. This year 20 additional apartments per farm are being built. A backlog for next year has been created. I would say that revolutionary reforms are under way in the rayon. Whereas it used to be one of the backward rayons, it is now one of the advanced ones. I hope that, having read this, Comrade Yefremov will understand everything correctly and will not become conceited.

Currently we have at our disposal a good reserve not only of party cadres, but also of economic ones.

Questions of training a reserve are discussed at every buro and secretariat session. We carry out the training and probationary work for cadres. For example, I work with the first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms. I devote special attention to the newcomers.

[Question] What are the new features in the work forms and methods of the obkom itself?

[answer] First, we have established the following procedure: calls to the party obkom and to all the city and rayon agencies, two days a week -- Tuesday and Thursday. On all the other days the administrators must plan the work at their own discretion in such a way that they spend more time among the people. Secondly, there has been a sharp reduction in the number of questions to be discussed at the buro. Not because there are none -- we are resolving them in a working procedure. Thirdly, we have become very fault-finding about the documents that we submit to the buro for consideration. A special commission to select them has been created. Fourthly, we have stopped "practicing" (please forgive me for using that word) the frightening of people by calling them to the obkom buro. The number of persons who have been invited has been reduced to one-tenth the previous number. The duration of the buro sessions is never longer than 1.5-2 hours. The number of our documents has been reduced to one-half, and the number of official statements from the rayons and from the outlying areas, to one-fourth.

All this has made it possible to increase the number of trips made by the obkom apparatus workers to the outlying areas. Moreover, we require that this be done not in order to get a "check mark" on a list, but in order to achieve the maximum practical results in improving the job at hand.

[Question] As we agreed before our meeting, our discussion has dealt with administrators and the oblast party organization's work with them. But don't you agree that the restructuring affects everyone?

[Answer] Yes, of course, everyone has to restructure his life. Everyone must be not a guest, but the host, in his beloved Motherland, in his own home. And consequently that means that it is necessary to work better, to work creatively, at full force. However, this is not occurring. The success of all our plans, in the final analysis, depends on how the party organizations operate as they carry out the party's political line in the labor collectives. We see the meaning of the changes that are occurring in bringing the party

work closer to the person. And that is what we aim the administrators at all levels toward. We are dealing with the ability to work under conditions of expanded democracy, and this is something that is not yet occurring everywhere. It is necessary to eliminate from party practice such intolerable phenomena as bureaucratism, papershuffling, and formalism. It is necessary to learn how to listen and how to hear people's opinion, rather than simply issuing commands or employing rigid administrative methods. It is necessary to learn how to respond to trust by showing trust, and to rely on the collective advice of the party members and nonparty members, the workers and the specialists.

[Question] What has been the content of the complaints arriving at the party obkom?

[Answer] A lot of complaints about housing. A fourth of the letters. About 15 percent of the total number are complaints about the work of the administrative agencies, chiefly failure to agree with their decisions. There are also letters dealing with social questions.

[Question] What steps are taken with regard to them?

[Answer] I have already spoken partially about the problems with housing and how they are resolved. Nor do we disregard the complaints that pertain to social justice. I would like to give the following example.

This summer the party obkom received letters from residents of Veshkaymskiy Rayon, in which they discussed violations of legislation during the distribution of housing in the settlement of Veshkayma. A number of officials there, without taking any notice of the waiting list, transferred from one nice apartment to another. Certain administrative workers were building practically private homes for themselves. That was promoted by the rayon ispolkom chairman himself, D. Mityagin.

In Veshkayma we arranged a citizens' meeting and forced the rayon ispolkom chairman to give an oral report to the people about the distribution of housing. It's impossible to describe the reaction of the people who had gathered there. You had to see it yourself. After the meeting, Mityagin was expelled from the party. A session of the rayon Soviet of People's Deputies relieved him of his duties as ispolkom chairman and deprived him of his powers as deputy.

In the same rayon, as a result of their having violated the standards of party life, our morality, and legislation, three people were expelled from the ranks of the CPSU and were relieved of their duties: N. Samarin, former chairman of the Veshkaymskiy RAPO [rayon agro-industrial association]; N. Salyukov, former chief of the RAPO construction department; and A. Shilov, former chief of the rayon ispolkom's department for construction and architecture. We pose the question in this way: if you have received an apartment illegally, give it back. If you have built a garage by skirting the law, give it back.

I want to note that, after the events at Veshkayma, the letters concerning abuses by administrators stopped coming in.

And how do we resolve the questions involving food supplies? Two years ago an announcement was made to the public: the first persons in the oblast are responsible for supplying the public with food products. We managed to remove the problem with regard to potatoes, vegetables, and berries. We trade in them from season to season, and have a large reserve. Their storage required the construction during a two-year period of storage facilities for 50,000 tons of produce, in addition to the 32,000 that existed previously.

During the past two months there has been a 15-percent reduction in the number of complaints about housing. This is explained by the fact that we currently are working out the "Zhilye-90" [Housing-1990] program and have begun to carry it out. But there are still a lot of difficulties.

[Question] What effects have the changes in party work had upon the development of the economy?

[Answer] First it must be noted that the renovation of the cadres and the restructuring in party work have changed the atmosphere in our entire life. There has been an expansion in publicity, there has been open discussion of our problems, various points of view have been expressed, and criticism and self-criticism are developing. There has been an improvement in order, and an increase in discipline. People have put their faith in their administrators, in the possibility and irreversibility of the changes for the better. This could not fail to have an effect upon the development of the economy. During the current year the growth rates for industrial production in the oblast doubled as compared with the same period in 1985. There was a 14-percent increase in the volume of contract operations in construction. The assignments for the production of products of animal husbandry and for other indicators in agriculture were overfulfilled.

However, only the first steps have been taken. One could mention many problems and questions that require their immediate resolution. In a word, it is necessary to move farther ahead. There a lot of things to worry about.

[Question] Could you please tell us briefly something about yourself and your family.

[Answer] I was born in a worker's family in Nizhniy Tagil in the Urals. I too began my labor biography as a worker. In my youth I was a shoemaker. During the war I attended a technicum, and during the evening went to a shoemaker's shop in order to earn a livelihood. Later on, after graduation from the technicum, I began working at one of the enterprises in the city and took correspondence courses from Urals Polytechnical Institute. By education I am a metallurgical engineer. For 14 years I worked at a plant -- as a designer, technologist, design bureau chief, shop chief, and the enterprise's deputy chief engineer. Then I was elected party committee secretary at the plant. Since then, for many years, I have been in party work. I have been a party raykom secretary, and gorkom secretary and first secretary -- all that was in Nizhniy Tagil. From there I received an assignment to the party's Sverdlovsk Obkom. Recently, for more than 8 years, I worked as second secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

By education my wife is a teacher. She worked all her life in this specialty, but now she is retired. We have a grown daughter and grandchildren.

[Question] Could you please tell us how your working day goes.

[Answer] This is my typical work day: from 0500 to 0700 hours, independent study to enrich my knowledge. From 0800 to 0900 hours, work with mail, newspapers, and magazines. Then, starting at 0900, strictly according to schedule.

My entire month, as well as the entire quarter, is scheduled for me. Of course I have to make certain changes.

[Question] What is your salary?

[Answer] My salary is 550 rubles. I have a governmental car, two drivers, two assistants, and two technical secretaries. I have everything to allow me to work honestly day and night.

[Question] Many of our readers would like to know what benefits party workers of your rank have.

[Answer] This is what I would tell them. There are benefits which we must respect, observe, and support. These are the benefits provided for war and labor veterans. There are also benefits for the managerial personnel -- for example, trips to receive medical treatment. A few people have been assigned a personal car. Some are provided with a dacha. These advantages are established with a consideration of the working conditions and the physical and nervous loads placed upon the person. They are just and legal. But there are also other "benefits" that administrators of various ranks establish for themselves. Those are the "benefits" that we are fighting decisively and will continue to fight.

I recall that during my first month as secretary one of the drivers of my car said, "If you need anything, let me know. I have easy access to the base and I can get it for you." I had to replace that driver with another one. I never drove around to the various bases in my life and I don't ever plan to. Nor do the members of my family.

[Question] One last question, Gennadiy Vasilyevich. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the restructuring? What would you reply to the skeptics who do not believe in the carrying out of our plans?

[Answer] This is what I would say: the person who is doing the scoffing is the one who is unwilling or unable to work without instructions from the top. Compressing time to resolve problems and rolling up our sleeves to undertake those that have not been resolved for years -- that is how I understand the restructuring. And we are undertaking these problems. We are fighting for the accelerated development of the economy, for a sober way of life, for the improvement of the social sphere. We are searching for unused labor resources. The manner in which we resolve these problems will determine our future. I believe in the irreversibility of the restructuring, in its victory!

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

ULYANOVSK OBKOM CHIEF ON PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by G. Kolbin, First Secretary of the CPSU Ulyanovsk Obkom, deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet: "Exactingness: Reflections on the Work of the NK [People's Control] Committees"]

[Text] I remember an occasion when I was visited by four people's controllers -- workers at the Dmitrovgrad Motor-Vehicle Unit Plant. They said that A. Kuznetsov, the enterprise's deputy director, was abusing his official position and was being indiscreet. When his garden summer house and garages were being built, he used government-owned building materials and his subordinates' labor. Within a short period of time he replaced several garages and three vehicles. With his knowledge, people in the shop manufactured various articles for sale through illegal channels.

Finding himself under the fire of criticism by the people's controllers, the light-fingered administrator began to persecute the activists and to get vengeance from them. Plant director S. Kvasha supported his deputy's actions. We verified the warning reports from the people's controllers. Everything was confirmed. The plant director and his deputy were relieved of their assignments and were given strict party punishment.

That situation prompted me and other CPSU obkom secretaries to study more thoroughly and in a more meaningful manner the work of the people's control agencies, and primarily my own, the Ulyanovsk Oblast Committee.

It was felt that the committee occupies active positions in the fight against poor business practices and various kinds of abuses, manifesting firm adherence to principles and strictness at such time. The republic and nationwide KNK [People's Control Committee] are in good repute. All this is so. But something else also was ascertained. Whereas the party, soviet, and economic organizations after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum have been typified by the search for nonstandard approaches to the job at hand and by a initiatory and aggressive mode of actions, in the work style of the oblast people's control committee the spirit of restructuring has not shaken the previous foundations. The committee has not taken the necessary steps to increase the participation rate of the people's controllers or to protect them

in conflict situations, and has been making little use of the force that the labor collectives can exert on those who commit abuses.

Moreover, the constitutional duties are not always fulfilled. For example, the people's control committees have been called upon to check the situation with regard to departmental control and to strive to increase its effectiveness. In various organizations and institutions in our oblast there are several thousand staff inspectors. The rate of results in the work performed by many of them is inadmissibly low. Of course, the primary reason lies in the fact that the enterprise and department administrators engage little in this service. Therefore they have imposed on the people's control agencies the duty of carefully monitoring the work of that service. However, the committees rarely are interested in that problem. Moreover, they attempt to avoid it.

In the oblast committee and the city, rayon, and production committees, there are 98 freed inspectors [that is, inspectors who are not required to perform other duties]. Putting it bluntly, this is not too dense a situation. But the number of people's controllers, who are supposed to be the chief bulwark in eradicating undesirable situations, is approximately 50,000 in the oblast. Actually, however, a rather large number of them are only carried on the lists, or execute their civic duty only spasmodically.

The committee is little concerned with increasing the participation rate of the nonstaff deputies and, by force of habit, take on everything themselves, although with regard to numerical size they are much smaller than the basic, unactivated reserve. If we could unite the efforts and activate that gigantic fly-wheel, it would be possible to guarantee the high effectiveness of the fight against every kind of abuse and to bring about a fundamental improvement in the moral atmosphere.

The restructuring requires the reinterpretation of the actions taken by those agencies, and requires new and different approaches to the resolution of the complicated tasks. The committees, for example, orient themselves only toward isolating violations, finding the guilty individuals, and defining the measure of punishment. Frequently the inspections limit themselves to punishments that stipulate, basically, the attempt to "tighten the screws." However, in and of itself, the registration of violations is not an indication of good work. The necessary effect manifests itself only in the event that the prevention and elimination of shortcomings are fused into one.

When checking the quality of storing fodders and the condition of the haylage ditches, the oblast people's control agencies began not only to note miscalculations, but also to recommend to the managers what should be corrected before the next season. They were, so to speak, given the opportunity to eliminate the shortcomings and to take steps ahead of time. As a rule, that brings good results. Consequently, if the emphasis is made -- as the Law Governing People's Control requires -- on the prevention of errors and omissions in work and on instilling in people a spirit of strict observance of state discipline and socialist legality, then one would be able to have no doubts about an increase in the effectiveness of the work performed by the controllers.

And visible changes for the better are the chief sign of the restructuring that has begun. Herein lies that base on which the authority of the people's control agencies is built. That authority is confirmed by the high reciprocal exactingness, strictness in work, ability to choose effective measures for preventing shortcomings, and broad publicity, criticism, and self-criticism.

In recent years it has become a broad practice in the oblast to have the administrators give oral reports to the labor collectives and to have citizen rallies. These situations provide an opportunity for frank discussion of the strong and weak points in the activity of a particular responsible worker, and for people to express their advice and wishes concerning the ways to correct the shortcomings that have been revealed. The decisions of the party agencies concerning the punishments meted out to Communist Party members and managers at various levels for having violated the moral standards have also been receiving broad publicity. But in our oblast, unfortunately, for some reason there has not been a single example of this sort with respect to workers on the people's control committee. It seems that they are not subject to control, or to criticism. And it is not without the zeal of the administrators of those agencies.

But the people's controllers are also responsible for various costs, inasmuch as the low-level links in the people's control agencies that are located in the thick of the labor collectives largely determine whether various shortcomings will be noticed and eliminated. For the time being, there is insufficient self-criticism. For example, when bonuses that have obviously been computed illegally are being paid, the people's controllers also receive them, as well as everyone else. However, the warning messages concerning such situations frequently come in along different channels, and those situations are not given a well-publicized, well-principled evaluation.

The tardiness in restructuring the work of the people's control subdivisions has been the result of the insufficient level in the guidance of them by the party organizations and by the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, which does not oversee their activity and does not show any concern for improving it.

I participated in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet preparatory commission with regard to a report from the USSR People's Control Committee at a past session. The impression was formed that many shortcomings, so to speak, of an oblast scale are also typical of that system's central staff. And that could not be otherwise, since the subordinate links attempt to copy its work style and methods. They adopt both the strong points and the weak points of their associates in the capital.

I was troubled, for example, by the evaluation criteria that were submitted to the deputies -- how many people are punished by USSR People's Control Committee and its agencies in the outlying areas, how much money has been reclaimed, etc. These are negative criteria. If other statistics formed the basis of the committee's report -- for example, how many officials had been prevented from committing errors, how many violations or losses of material-technical losses had been prevented -- then that would be another matter. Unfortunately, that did not occur, and one can scarcely find anything to say.

In the course of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, when meeting associates from various parts of the country, we tried to prod their memory: had there ever been a situation when a representative of the nationwide or republic People's Control Committee had made a trip somewhere and expressed satisfaction with the work being performed by the controllers? No. It was practically a rule: if an inspector from the capital arrived, he would invariably find a black spot. Otherwise his trip would have been unjustified. In my opinion, that is an incorrect approach.

Every manager, obviously, is obliged to be concerned about having a work style that will be beneficial for others. If one is speaking about restructuring, the nationwide People's Control Committee has proven to be an insufficiently brilliant example for imitation. And who, if not that committee, is supposed to act in the role of a generator of fresh, promising ideas and as the direct organizer of the restructuring in its system?

At the same time we are perfectly aware that it is not only the nationwide committee and the republic committees that are responsible for the activity of the local people's control agencies, but also the oblast's party and soviet organizations. After coming into contact with serious shortcomings in the work of the Ulyanovsk Oblast people's control committee, we defined practical measures for restructuring its activity at an oblast meeting of Communist Party members who work in the People's Control Committee. There was a meeting with the apparatus of the monitoring and inspection agencies. Every month the CPSU obkom conducts symposiums with responsible workers of the oblast people's control committee, and one of the secretaries of the party's obkom participates in its sessions.

A process of certifying the oblast committee inspectors has begun. We teach them the systems approach in their work, the ability to employ those methods of influence which help to guarantee the accelerated resolution of the socioeconomic tasks. We may as well admit that we have people who have been "promoted" to the people's control agencies because they were of no use in positions they held in the party or soviet apparatus. If a person cannot "pull his weight," then you simply find him another "administrative portfolio." Unfortunately, there are many such individuals. And they are the ones that the certification has begun with. Another detail may be worthy of mention: after hearing about the forthcoming certification, certain workers expressed the desire to leave the people's control agencies.

Recently there was an exacting discussion of increasing the role and combativeness of the people's controllers with members of the CPSU obkom buro and apparatus and with secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms. In December, at the forthcoming session of the oblast Soviet, we shall listen to the oral report given by the oblast people's control committee. Administrators of controllers will give similar reports at sessions of the city and rayon Soviets. We must say that the rayon link still is of particular concern to us. Whereas, in Ulyanovsk, the intensity of the controllers' work has been increased, in the "lower depths" there is still a calm.

The party's obkom, in guiding the restructuring that has begun in the people's control agencies, is striving to achieve a situation in which that restructuring is across-the-board -- from the oblast people's control committee to the controller group or post on the most remote animal farm. People must remember well -- and this was re-emphasized in the decree of the 6th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet -- that the people's control is an important form of socialist democracy, an important form for developing the active participation of Soviet citizens in the administration of state and public affairs, and an effective means of reinforcing legality and discipline.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UDMURT OBKOM CHIEF ON RESTRUCTURING WORK

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by P. Grishchenko, First Secretary of CPSU Udmurt Obkom: "Taking a Fresh Look at the Old: Party Life -- Time and Cadres"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] "If we only had Kuhlman drafting units that were a bit newer, or if everyone had his own calculator instead of having just one that was shared by everyone. If we only had a few more people..."

That is the crux of the statements that were made at a party meeting to hear reports and hold elections at the Bumash Association's department of mechanization and automation. It was mentioned by everyone -- Communist Party members who were made wise by experience, and engineer-designers who are just beginning. But when the question was asked as to why they were discussing Kuhlman drafting units, rather than SAPR [computer-aided design systems], or a calculator, rather than a personal computer, silence reigned in the room. The new means of mechanization and automation seemed to be an impossible dream for everyone.

This is not the only place where this picture can be seen. Just look around and see how much old stuff is still being dragged into new and remodeled shops, and how much technical junk is still being used alongside of the most modern equipment. Although at such time much is being said about the restructuring, about the need to accelerate the rates of technical re-equipping. Who is guilty of this tremendous gap between word and deed? The administrators of the enterprises and organizations? But the party committees who have recommended those administrators also have good cause for thinking carefully about their work style. Can we say that we always carry out in a proper manner the selection and education of our cadres, or always determine properly what changes have to be made in the job we are performing, in order to take into consideration the requirements of the time?

The principal thing that we are devoting our attention to today is the creation in the party organizations and labor collectives of a truly creative atmosphere. That is, those conditions in which a person can best feel that he is an initiatory, well-principled worker. This is necessary if only because arrogance, impermeability to criticism, and a routine psychology continue to

be phenomena which are by no means infrequent. Frequently the party committees themselves create a halo around these "strong," "enterprising" figures, set them up as examples, protect them from criticism "from above," and, as for criticism "from below, those figures deal with that independently.

And so, soon N. Komissarova, the former manager of the republic office of Stroybank, will appear in the people's court. For long years she headed that collective. "You better believe that I built this republic!", she asserted smugly at a party meeting when her personal file was being considered. "Do you mean that I don't have the right to find an apartment for my son, for a friend, for my personal driver?"

One is struck not so much even by the effrontery of the former manager, as by the position taken by the party members in the office. After everything had been checked and confirmed by documentary evidence, not a single party member in that organization stood up and dared to state the truth, looking straight into the eyes of the administrator who had overstepped her bounds. Most of them, headed by the party secretary, even rose to defend Komissarova. What kind of well-principled situation in the collective does this attest to?

Yes, it is no easy matter to break the ice of indifference in people, to instill in them a feeling that they are among the owners of their country. Especially since many administrators are completely incapable of reconciling themselves to the fact that one can also point out shortcomings on their part also, and that the party has the same laws for everyone -- for the ministers, and for the ordinary workers. The restructuring goes against the grain of people like this, and we must define precisely who is who.

I recall a session of the obkom buro, at which a number of comrades were asked to give explanations about the reasons for failing to meet the monthly plan. A large number of persons had been invited to attend that session. But certain administrators considered themselves to be insulted by the need, in the presence of "outsiders," to comment on their blunders and miscalculations. That manifested itself in full measure in V. Tarasov, general director of the Izhmash Association. He was so shaken by the "unnecessary democracy" that he ostentatiously placed on the table in the party's obkom a request for his immediate resignation...

But we are continuing to carry out persistently and stubbornly this line that is aimed at publicity and at having people give a strict accounting of themselves. Most efforts will have to be expended to assure a situation in which certain party members who are administrators change their false idea concerning the honor and dignity of a real Communist Party member. Here is an extremely eloquent fact: during the past five-year plan, neither at buro sessions, nor at plenums, has there ever been even one instance of considering the work of an agency headed by a member of an obkom buro. What kind of "thorough-going self-analysis" of the mistakes and shortcomings can we deal with in this instance? But we are correcting the situation. Now we are assimilating the target-program work method, which, with the complete consideration of the opinion expressed by people and by the labor collectives,

makes it possible within comparatively short periods of time to prepare a plan of actions for resolving the problems that have accumulated in the republic. Among them, a special place is occupied by the comprehensive "Kadry-90" [Personnel-1990] program.

The short-term nature and the sometimes onesidedness of the plans that were previously prepared, which, as a rule, limited themselves to listing stereotypical measures, did not yield the desired effect. The work with managerial cadres in many party committees, including the obkom, never did take on a systems or search-oriented nature. On the one hand, behind the fence of overall plans one often was unable to see the person himself. On the other hand, people could not, or simply did not want to, tear themselves out of the confines of the steady circle of managerial workers that had been created by us.

An example of this is the manning of the republic's agro-industrial committee. No one, not even those in the obkom apparatus, took the risk of making any sharp innovations or bringing in new, fresh manpower. But now they have started to say, "This sector has to be reinforced. We need to have strong, young, dynamic managers..." It was necessary to ask certain comrades to "make a shift." But the time that was lost! That is the expensive that has to be paid for conservatism and for playing it safe.

Naturally, we try to put the work with cadres on a level of modern requirements. In this sense, eight sections in the "Kadry-90" program define the basic directions in the activity of the party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and economic agencies in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The task assigned is to provide all the leading sectors in the republic's national economy with capable, initiatory organizers who possess high political, on-the-job, and moral qualities.

The restructuring is being extended in ground that is not new. First, the arsenal of the oblast's party organization has the experience that was acquired in the course of fulfilling the CPSU Central Decree entitled "The Work of the CPSU Udmurt Obkom in Selecting, Assigning, and Educating Managerial Cadres." Secondly, we already have at our disposal a rather strong potential in this regard: the branches of the republic's national economy employ more than 77,000 specialists with higher education. The task now consists in isolating people from that mighty detachment and growing true leaders.

Special attention is devoted to succession in promoting the cadres, and to eliminating stagnant situations in individual branches and regions. This is the way, for example, that the discussion goes concerning succession: "If you are 60 years of age and you have trained good replacements, then you can continue to work more easily in your job for as long as your physical strength and health allow. But if you have not trained those replacements, on the day that you become 60 years of age you will receive, together with a statement of thanks for your labor, your pension certification." We consider this line to be correct. It is necessary for everyone, up to and including the obkom first

secretary, to think about who is ready and able to replace him at the necessary moment.

However, there are dozens of examples when Communist Party members who are administrators, as they stand on the threshold of their well-deserved rest, attempt to get rid of the good workers who are the pretenders for their job. Others do everything to assure that the collective does not develop any leaders at all with a claim to the role of the first administrator. It is necessary to find "the proper place" for workers who fail to understand the situation, and especially those who have overstepped their bounds.

The obkom is also concerning about the following situations: some of the administrators are like that clucking hen that absolutely does not want to let her chicks out from under her. All one has to do is mention someone's candidacy for promotion, and all of a sudden the phones begin ringing and emissaries start rushing in, asking, "What are you doing? We'll be lost if we don't have a good specialist."

Nor is the apparatus of the CPSU obkom itself a model for others in this regard. For many years dozens of workers sat in the same place without any kind of promotion, without seeing any prospects for themselves, although they had sufficient experience. Currently the situation is changing. A number of department heads, their deputies, and instructors have headed independent sectors. Emissaries of the obkom have appeared in the positions of first administrators in the party's raykoms and in trade-union and soviet agencies.

This kind of movement, naturally, requires a reliable reserve. It is precisely the creation of that reserve that has been and continues to be, for the Udmurt Oblast party organization, problem number one. Although outwardly it still appears to be no worse than others: lists have been prepared, which are renewed annually, and performance appraisals have been prepared for everyone. But as soon as the matter comes down to promotion, once again there are gnawing doubts: is the person really ready, has he matured enough to be an administrator?

Why does this happen? In order to answer that question, working groups headed by secretaries and department chiefs were created. Those groups thoroughly analyzed the attitude toward the reserve in every CPSU gorkom and raykom. The conclusions proved to be distressing: formalism in the selection of candidates. Today there has been a re-examination of the very approach to the formation of the reserve. Each "nomenklatura" position has assigned to it two or three persons who have been trained to replace the incumbent, as well as a so-called long-term reserve from among the young people. A series of measures has also been stipulated for studying the political, on-the-job, and moral qualities of the person being promoted.

Analyzing the work with cadres in the oblast party organization after the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, you come to the conclusion: despite certain improvements in the qualitative makeup of the administrators

and the shifts that have been noted in developing the republic's economy, very little has still been done. We are well aware that the main work lies ahead. It will require us to take a thoughtful, inquisitive approach to every individual, and will require the complete exertion of efforts by everyone who takes part in this important job.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

OBKOM CHIEFS DISCUSS INFLUX OF YOUNGER OFFICIALS IN PARTY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 87 pp 1-2

[Article by Yu. Makhrin: "Renewal," "Party Life: Entrusted with Leadership"]

[Text] "The plenum has dismissed...." "Elected first secretary was...." Stories like this have been a frequent subject of press reports since April 1985. Party leaders have been replaced in republic, oblast and kray organizations. But these changes have come with particularly direct effect at the city and rayon levels.

What are the results flowing from this process of cadre replacement?

In September 1985 the Novoderevenkovskiy Rayon party committee, Orel Oblast, met in plenary session. It relieved Ye. Belikov of his duties as first secretary. This post was then entrusted to A. Voropayev.

A year has now passed. Just a year. So it might be a little early to drawing up the balance sheets. But if we did, how would they read? Let's compare some facts and figures.

The previous five-year-plan was a failure across the board. But last year the rayon was able to satisfy the state in all indicator categories.

What's that? Does this mean that the new first secretary came, saw...and then conquered? Aleksandr Ivanovich Voropayev, it seemed, had been anticipating precisely this question. So he spoke without hesitation:

"I would say that the most important thing is that the working atmosphere is different with us, the new secretary 'recruits,' than it was with our predecessors. The situation all over the country has taken a turn for the better. Discipline is tighter, there is more personal accountability and so on...."

Some of the older managers, toughened up by their years in the system, answer the question this way:

"We out here in the country have been dreaming for a long time of the day when we would no longer have anybody breathing down our necks and driving us at every turn. When we would be able to get on with our business without being interfered with. And I mean interference! The fact is, alas, that our legs got no rest.... So now here comes a man who conceives of party oversight not as something akin to driving a team of horses, but rather as something else entirely. He sees it as meaning giving assistance and support, creating conditions under which we can all work to our fullest capacity."

The rank-and-file agricultural workers have their own view of the new "first [secretary]":

"Aleksandr Ivanovich has gotten a great many of our management people to show their people their 'human' face, so to speak. It's a shame to have to put it as though this was something to be proud of, of course, but they're actually at long last gotten around to the bath houses. They've actually been built! They're working on the new living quarters for the livestock people and the dispensaries and on the kindergartens and the new housing and the stadiums...."

As recently as a year or so ago Moscow and Orel were being inundated with a flood of complaints from Novoderevenkovskiy Rayon. The communists here were particularly put out by the fact that the management positions were going to the unscrupulous, the incompetent and the inefficient.

"But now we don't have to write the capital any longer to get at the truth of a situation," the people here say. "We can now turn to our own rayon committee, where everybody now reaches decisions by following the dictates of both their conscience and the party. For us the rayon committee is now the ultimate source of truth and justice."

Since April 1985 a great many republic, kray and oblast party organizations have newly elected some one-third of their city and rayon committee first secretaries and in some places (Uzbekistan, for example) even more. This represents an influx of new people, new forces. A renewal. Invigorating, restorative—there simply aren't any other words for what's going on. Practical experience has shown that when people start to stagnate in their positions, when there's no movement, you block off the inflow of capable new managers.

The influx of new cadres means a rejuvenation of the party as well. Yes, the party veterans are being replaced by people young enough to be their sons. But even about some of the new people you can occasionally hear somebody say: "But he's getting on up there, too...." The average age of the new crop of secretaries in Lipetsk, Bryansk and Orel oblasts, for example, is something over forty.

So when they go to their "reserves," many organizations are saying that people should be "ripened" for their first positions and given responsibilities and moved up earlier.

Among the former first secretaries of rural rayon committees were teachers and doctors, lawyers and railroad workers, political workers who had "gone civilian," and so on. In the new leaders we are seeing only specialists. The party oblast committees are insisting unequivocally that "the rayon committee secretary today who does not have a thorough knowledge of agricultural production operations cannot function as the leader of a party organization." So this probably sounds like a sound line of argument. The "rank-and-file" communists, however, are taking a different view of the situation: "It is entirely possible for a knowledgeable, intelligent individual to take over a secretarial position in a rural rayon committee without any certified competence as an agronomist, or animal husbandry specialist or as an engineer of some kind and still do a good job." And they can give you some living examples of what they are talking about. Examples from out of the past, to be sure. But perhaps we shouldn't be rejecting this point of view out of hand.

The old and the new.... Readers responding to PRAVDA's "The Times and the Cadres" survey touch on this subject. V. Glybin of Moscow recalls some lines by V. Ovechkin: "With good leadership, good management, people develop politically throughout their entire lives from the experience they gain from concrete party involvements and the efforts required of them in the discharge of specific party responsibilities." And this is the conclusion readers have drawn. Just as a tree trunk forms its annual growth rings, they say, rings which would tell us whether a summer was dry or rainy, or whether a spring came suddenly, whether it was a slow, steady spring, or one bringing deceptive thaws, so does the heart and soul of the leader or manager retain layering from the past. And this is an alarming thing for some respondents. Won't the new secretaries be bring some old baggage with them to their new positions? Will a fresh-flowing stream be able to break up through the encrustation of subjective, willful (but involuntary as well) methods of leadership and management, approaches which have been condemned by the party? Will the stream flowing fresh from the spring peter out and disappear? What everybody wants is for this stream to find some enclosing banks, which will transform it into a deep river!

For some reason or another, many people understand the word "experience" to refer to something positive, something representing advancement, improvement. The fact is, though, that mistakes, be they the mistakes of others or our own, can also be instructive. As a graphic, living lesson they teach—no, make the reproach would be more to the point—that this is not the way we should be leading and managing, this is not the way to live!

Bryansk Oblast. In November 1985 the Dubrovskiy rayon committee met in plenary session. S. Vasil'tsov was relieved of his duties as first secretary. In connection with his retirement. His successor was V. Khamitskiy.

The whole rayon sighed: "Will the new first secretary prove a worthy replacement for Sergey Petrovich? What a wise man he was! What firmness and integrity he displayed in performing his duties!"

It's been a year now. And this year has seen Dubrovka progress under the leadership of the new secretary. "The fact is," V. Kamitskiy points out, "that the foundations here were solid. And we have Sergey Petrovich to thank for that!"

You will hear a "thank you" to the former first secretary at every turn in Dubrovka these days. Sincere, deeply felt thank you's — thank you for your good performance, thank you for the lasting positive contributions you made to the life of the rayon.

It was right here in Dubrovka where I had a number of other encounters which have stayed with me. There were a number of new managers and party committee secretaries here who had just taken over the reins of power when they began to "heap it all over" their predecessors (they would take particular delight in doing this in the public forum), blaming them for all failures and misfortunes past and present. To listen to people like this gives you the impression that they, the new ones, are now taking over the positions of authority and only at this point does the life and history of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, the rayon or the city, really begin. Are they Ivans who are forgetting their origins?

In and of itself, the delicate, overly tactful approach would be the wrong with respect to individuals who have besmirched the good name of party member, those, as it was put at the 27th Party Congress, for whom the sole operating principle in life became lack of principle, personal well-being and careerist ambitions. On the other hand, life in a number of party organizations was distinguished by a high degree of exactingness in past years as well. And it was because of this that the diseases of permissiveness and toleration of wrongdoing did not contaminate, did not infect the personnel of these organizations. Look at Bryansk Oblast, for example. There has been no instance whatsoever, in which a first secretary has been removed because of what has come to be referred to as abuse of authority. Not one!

Both communist and nonparty members refer to the former first secretaries on the oblast committee in terms of respect: Mikhail Konstantinovich Krakhmalev (who has been honored with a street which has been named after him in Bryansk and a kolkhoz in Klimovskiy Rayon) and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko (who is now a minister of the USSR).

M. Pogodin, an oblast committee secretary, put it in terms of this story:

I had no sooner entered the first secretary's office when I saw his face redden. My extended hand was ignored. "So, you've been to the store in through the back door?" He choked in anger. It was only at that point that I realized what he was getting at: all this had been provoked by my new foreign-made shoes, which I had recently bought on the spur of the moment at the government department store in the capital. It was only at that point, after hearing my explanation, that the secretary extended his hand to me.

The new secretaries of the Bryansk rayon committees all know the story of the leather slippers. This story teaches them the lessons of personal modesty and restraint, to be sparing, if you will, in their personal desires. Here was the "after effect" of this adherence to party principle. It left a favorable mark, a good layer. A clear "growth ring."

The new secretaries.... Each individual, of course, has his own personality and goes about his business in his own particular way. But in terms of their personal character, the nature of the leadership they provide, what would they have in common?

Yu. Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk oblast committee of the CPSU, is pleased:

"They're not the kind to be hanging on your every word and swallowing everything you say hook, line and sinker. They are not the gullible, credulous sort, yes-men. What they are, rather, are solid, sensible, meticulous opponents, for whom the truth and the interests of their immediate responsibilities are the overriding considerations."

A. Voystrochenko, the first secretary of the Bryansk obkom, shares this opinion and at the same time believes it necessary to remind these newcomers of some of the first principles of military tactics:

"The commander's arsenal is going to contain approaches to problems other than the frontal assault. There are always going to be a multitude of ways to achieve victory. Some of the younger officials, unfortunately, will invariably be found to be taking an extremely one-dimensional, head-on approach to a situation, forcing their way through obstacles like a tank."

Ye. Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel party oblast committee, looks at things this way:

"The log jams in life develop from log jams in your thinking. I knew some party officials who have recently left their posts who, pen and notebook in hand, would always say: 'Just tell us what you want done, and we'll get it done.' The new people are keen-witted, far-sighted sorts who are demonstrating an ability to think creatively."

Here's another evaluation of the newcomers:

"They are moving more audaciously, taking greater initiative, in tackling problems requiring urgent solution. And what is more, they are calling for the fire to be directed onto themselves!" says P. Smolskiy, first secretary of the Ryazan party obkom.

As I've travelled I've studied with particular interest the individual leadership styles of some of these new secretaries, whose advancement up the ladder of authority has not quite followed you would call the normal "growth pattern": management specialist, party committee secretary, kolkhoz or sovkhos manager, RAPO [expansion unknown] chairman, second raykom secretary then chairman of the rayon executive committee. Vladimir Ivanovich Sinyakin is one of these officials: he simply never developed any familiarity with the nature of party work. He never had a chance (and this is yet another unfortunate consequence of the ossification of party cadres we used to see). So because there wasn't any "movement" at the upper levels, the up and coming replacements on the "reserve roster" simply haven't had a chance to sample the experience available in the official positions at all the different levels of responsibility. And Sinyakin sincerely regrets the fact that he has to get his experience, so to speak, "on the job."

Working with people — this is the essence of the party's work as understood by the secretary of the Komarichskiy raykom in Bryansk Oblast.

Alas, however, not all of the new crop of party officials appreciate and utilize the "human factor." PRAVDA's mailbag is coming nowadays to contain no small number of letters of reproach: "Ours doesn't go for people. He's more interested in the technological end of agriculture." But let us give the credit due a great many of our oblast committees. They are patiently treating, and successfully, party officials of the "disease" which leads them involve themselves in the exclusively technical problems, veterinary and agricultural problems for example.

The oblast committees are indeed coming to the assistance of the newer officials. It used to be that when things would get off the track in the affairs of a particular rayon, the responsible officials would be summoned to Lipetsk, for example, where they would be "called on the carpet." Things are now happening in reverse. The experienced party problem solvers now "descend" on the local organization.

The Bryansk oblast committee sends out combined groups representing virtually all the various administrative departments to visit the new raykom secretaries. It's not like an entire army on the move, but rather two or three people going out for at least 10 days or so. They have a look at the way a party committee is functioning, the approach it takes in solving problems, analyze the situation and then open up a frank discussion of the way they see things — what is new and interesting in the forms and methods of leadership in the organization and what amounts to essentially the old wine in new bottles.

The new "firsts" and the reorganization.... Let's face it, it is easier for them to function, to do things in a new way, their way, without being fettered by the stereotype solutions of the past the rigid restraints of established routine. But the question remains: are we seeing something really new at the top in the rayon, or is it just something different?

A manager in Voronezh makes no attempt to conceal an ironic smile:

"Yes, ours is doing some new things. When his predecessor left the office he would say to his secretary: 'I'm going out to Iskra Kolkhoz.' The man we have in there now will call out on his way out the door: 'If somebody calls from the oblast committee, tell him I've gone out to visit the party people on Iskra Kolkhoz.'"

And that's what's "new!"

The director of a plant in Saratov pointed to the following change in the operating style of officials of his city committee:

"They are lecturing the industrial managers louder than the people we used to have in here."

And then in Orel, too, I chanced to hear that there are some among the new crop of officials who "put too much pressure on the vocal cords."

Concerning shortcomings in the operating style of a number of new secretaries people speak and write with pain in their hearts. Some, for example, have felt free to spend tens of thousands of rubles in work on their individual homes, while one has been showing favoritism toward members of his family. In the case of another, it's not a word of criticism, but simply the fact that there might actually be another point of view on a particular problem that gets under his skin, as though he were allergic to differences of opinion. And when this individual took over the rayon committee, he immediately "saddled up" his favorite "hobby horse" — decrees, instructions, new procedures (over the course of a six-month period, for example, the Tambov city committee sent up some 240 circulars). "It's nothing but a lot of hot air!", "We thought these people were going to bring something new and fresh to the job, but as it's turned out, it's been just more of the same!" — this is what people are saying about this particular style of leadership.

A letter from Liven in Orel Oblast breathes with indignation. The city committee was holding one of its plenary sessions. Suddenly a voice boomed out in the hall: "The participation of comrade Yegor Semenovitch Stroyev, first secretary of the party's oblast committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee, in the work of our plenum imposes a special responsibility on communists for the realization of the plans." Nor, apparently, could the director of the city trade organization, P. Pulatnikov, dispense with this fawning epithet when he took the rostrum: "The report we have heard from comrade Vladimir Stepanovich Tarnavskiy, first secretary of the city committee, has provided us with a penetrating analysis of the state of affairs in all areas...." Those attending the city committee plenum thus witnessed the blossoming of these splendid roses of servility, and this struck alarm in the hearts of the party members: how in the world, they wondered, can the new secretaries suffer this "unctuous display in a public forum?" And indeed, how can they?!

The new crop of officials has also produced its first out and out failures. When they look at the situation, communists explain things in these terms: "They sprang up like mushrooms after the rain. We've elevated not just some young ones, but some immature ones as well. They'll develop what it takes on the job, we said. But it just didn't turn out that way. It's been a costly experiment!"

Renewal.... We've seen some successes and some mistakes, experienced hope and alarm and apprehension, joy and doubt. The strides our new officials are making toward the "new" have been difficult, but, on the other hand, remain full of promise!

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HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

SAMSONOV CRITICIZES DISTORTIONS, COVERUPS IN HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 65-71

[Article by Academician A.M. Samsonov: "To New frontiers (Outlining the Problem)"]

[Excerpt] At the 6th Congress of Writers of the RSFSR which took place in December 1985 a number of speeches dealt with the unjustified restrictions in the preparation of manuscripts for publication. Anatoliy Chepurov noted that "we have many writers with profound spiritual feelings for the common cause and whose hearts are pierced by each social phenomenon, and they write boldly and openly. But in addition to boldness on the part of the author what is also needed is boldness on the part of the editor. And this is often lacking. And thus the sharpness and topicality of the problems raised by the writer are narrowed and restricted."

Speaking at the same conference Yevgeniy Yevtushenko said the following: "A people that permits itself courageously to analyze its own mistakes and tragedies snatches an ideological weapon from the hands of its enemies because thus it wins spiritually. Only fearlessness of the past can help to make a fearless and the only correct resolution to present-day problems... Time itself demands an end to barrier psychology. At the same time a fine, inexorable light should illuminate the false civic spirit of self-mollification and self-eulogy." [10]

In his article "Responsibility Real and Imagined (A Monologue on Time and Myself)" Daniil Granin wrote that the great purifying work that the party is now carrying out has the warm approval of all workers. The time has also come critically to assess modern literature, which is giving rise to a sense of dissatisfaction. "For many years criticism insisted on the creation of images of the positive hero, the hero of moral exploits. Attempts were made carefully to counterbalance the negative and immoral heroes, lead them by the hand, and set strict standards for what they did and what they said. Their social danger was often understated. Blunting criticism, careful editors would threaten the brand of 'slander'; and with their 'it's impossible' they justified the formula 'now is not the moment!' And we yielded and exchanged the truth of life for a quick publication date." This is literary diffidence, "a literature of eyewash and show, a literature of postscripts and

obsequiousness, a literature that dares nothing" [11], as the writer correctly noted, and it is to the liking first and foremost the forces of evil.

The harm of this is obvious. A review of Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's poem "Fuku!" published in PRAVDA said the following: "... without a chapter on the very evil figure of the man-hawk, Kolya, without dispute with the senseless admirers of the 'strong hand' and with all those who yearn nostalgically for the times whose spirit has been refuted and condemned by the party and people the author's position would probably have been vulnerable. Ye. Yevtushenko is well aware of this and he gives our adversaries no chance to accuse him of double-dealing or hiding the truth." [12]

All this also bears directly on the historical sciences. Situations in which condemnations of negative facts and phenomena of the past are excluded from historians' work are typical. Everyone is inclined to view this as "slander."

Is there any need to prove that the concept of "slander" is applicable only to bourgeois Sovietologists who deliberately distort the Soviet reality and our country's entire history. However, we cannot agree with the use of this term applied to Soviet researchers. An unthinking and arbitrary interpretation of the term leads to violation of a very important demand of the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the study of the historical process: following the instructions of the party our current press decisively and uncompromisingly criticizes everything negative that hampers society's advance, and it unmasks the specific people who through their actions harm the socialist reality. Meanwhile, criticism by historians of the negative realities of the past is largely arbitrarily restricted.

Embellishment of the past (distant and recent) undermines belief in the objectivity of the historian, depreciates the results of the educational and cognitive functions of the historical sciences and, of course, hampers the struggle against bourgeois Sovietologists, who deliberately exaggerate the scales of negative phenomena, augmenting them with open slander and deliberately and grossly distorting the history of the land of the soviets.

It should also be said that in novels and stories and movies the audience often finds explanations of historical facts that lack or only allude in a superficial way to the research of historians (I. Standuyuk's "Voyna" [War], A. Chakovskiy's "Blokada" [Blockade], Ch. Aytmatov's "I dolshe veka dlitsya den" [The Day That Lasted a Century]).

The force of true art is enormous. And millions of people receive profound and impressionable pictures of the past created in artistic images. Literature and the arts are actively involved in shaping the consciousness of the individual in a socialist society. However, the functions of literature and the arts, on the one hand, and of the social sciences, on the other, are different. History cannot be studied only from artistic productions. Sometimes they offer only a conventional idea of the reality of the past.

There is also no doubt that the history book is not only a piece of research but also an historical novel, story, play and so forth. And then there is the problem of the cooperation of the Muse. Without a knowledge of history, in

his creativity the writer cannot turn to the events of the past, while a researcher is helped by artistic images to sense the past and describe it more clearly. The nature, forms and directions of their cooperation have been a long-standing issue. There have been suggestions that writers and historians meet to discuss global problems in interpreting past events in historical research and in literature and the arts. Up to now such meetings have been of a local character.

Interesting opinions are expressed on ways for creative cooperation between writers and historians. [13] V.T. Pashto has done much fruitful work on this problem. "Historians and writers," he has remarked, "have a mutual interest in creative enrichment, where science is the art of recognition and art the science of life, where the general desire of literature (and, indeed, also of cinema, the graphic arts and music, particularly opera and ballet) for the historical method, on the one hand, and the increasing attraction of historiography to improved forms, artistic harmony and literary expressiveness in scientific, popular and journalistic pieces, on the other, is acquiring some kind of natural embodiment. This reinforces the thought that now we are also finding additional sources for our growing creative cooperation." [14]

The historian and the writer (each in his own way) are interested in the search for truth. Discussion and criticism play a major role here. The clash of differing opinions on a specific issue expresses a natural desire to clarify the truth. An article by N. Proshunin on criticism quotes from a letter from V.V. Vorovskiy to M.S. Olminskiy in which it is stated that it is impermissible to reduce the task of criticism to a search for agreement: "For in this way we degenerate into a mutual admiration society. I say nothing of the psychological impossibility of silence when we see erroneous judgements. Only an individual indifferent to theory and its fate could stifle his objections. But beside this, what do we become? I will somehow extricate "points of agreement" in your articles, and you in mine, and X in the articles of Y and so on. So we have a kind of compendium of points of agreement, a collection of general undisputed places, truisms, which can be freely used without quotation marks. The individuality of authors, their private judgements, their personal research, everything that is capable of advancing theory is effaced and comes to nought. Marxism becomes a publication for the institutions of young ladies of the nobility. Save us, Lord, from this kind of well-being." [15]

It is from these positions that consideration of the facts of history must also be approached. One example of this is the analysis of the reasons for our military failures in the summer of 1942. Throwing light on the preparations by the opposing sides for the summer campaign, the authors of the series of volumes entitled "Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny 1939-1945" [History of World War II 1939-1945] wrote the following: "I.V. Stalin suggested that in the summer of 1942 the Hitlerite command would be in a position to conduct major offensives simultaneously on two strategic salients, namely Moscow and in the south of the country. He attached special importance to the Moscow salient, where the enemy had 70 divisions." [16] "The suggestions by the Supreme Headquarters that the enemy would make his main strike on the Moscow salient were not confirmed. The Wehrmacht attacked only on the southern wing of the front." [17]

This mistake was to some extent provoked by the enemy. In order to maintain secrecy about the salient for the main thrust the General Staff of the German land forces decided to create the impression that German troops would unleash a powerful attack on the western salient in order to smash the central grouping of Soviet troops and seize Moscow. "To this end, the headquarters of the 'Center' army group drew up a special operations plan called 'Kremlin.' The idea was that this plan would become known to the Soviet Army command, which would be deceived... However, operation 'Kremlin' did not achieve its aim." [18]

This conclusion contradicts the historical facts. Proceeding from the above-mentioned evaluation of enemy intentions, the Supreme Headquarters set the dispositions of its own reserves accordingly. The decision was a mistake in relation to the military situation that actually existed in the summer of 1942. And Hitler's "Kremlin" plan did play some part in this. This was one of the reasons why the Wehrmacht troop broke through to the Volga at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus.

The events of the last war pose for researchers questions not only of a scholarly but also a moral nature. One example is analysis of the tragic fate of the commander of the Western Front, Army Gen D.G. Pavlov and his closest aides: front chief of staff Maj Gen V.Ye. Klimovskiye, chief of communications troops Maj Gen A.G. Grigoryev, chief of artillery Maj Gen N.A. Klych and the commander of the 4th Army Maj Gen A.A. Korobkov.

In historical works this subject is either totally omitted or noted without any disclosure of the essential facts. Even in a special study of the events of 1941 the author limited himself to stating that K.Ye. Voroshilov was at the headquarters of the Western Front from 26 to 28 June on orders from Supreme Headquarters. "He concluded that General Pavlov, who he had believed earlier did not have the ability to manage a large operational field force, had lost his head in the current situation and was unfit to command the troops. On 30 June Pavlov was relieved of his command on the Western Front. General Yeremenko took over these duties for 2 days, and then from 1 July, Marshal S.K. Timoshenko." [19] "L.Z. Mekhlis was sent there" with S.K. Timoshenko "as a member of the military council." In order to "normalize" the situation he proposed that the State Defense Committee relieve some of the front commanders, including the chief of staff, the air force commander, the commander of the communications section and others." [20]

The fate of the first commander of the Western Front is recalled in the memoir literature, but only briefly.

This subject was covered for the first time with revealing directness in I. Standyuk's book "War":

"Pavlov stared for a time at Mekhlis, mortified, and then he quietly asked:

"'Of what are you accusing me?'

"'Treachery!' Mekhlis hurled out the dreadful word.

"'But this is absurd!'

"'Facts are facts!' Mekhlis looked with hostility at Pavlov's face, now white as a stone, convinced for some reason that what he was saying was true.

"'And who has been ordered to try me?' Pavlov quietly asked with a secret challenge.

"'The Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court!'

"Will it be a closed trial?'

"Yes, it will.'" [21]

In the interview with the investigator Pavlov was read the formulation of the charge: such-and-such and so forth and so on, "in that in these duties, at the start of the military actions by fascist Germany, displayed cowardice, inaction and lack of organization, and permitted the breakdown of control over the troops and the surrender of weapons and ammunition to the enemy... As a result of his cowardice, inaction and panic serious losses were inflicted on the Workers and Peasant Red Army and an opportunity was created for an enemy breakthrough on the front on one of the main salients, and thus crimes were committed under articles 193.17b and 193.20b of the RSFSR Penal Code." [22]

The motives for accusing the former leaders of the Western Front during a war situation critical for the country are sounded out on many pages of the novel. The idea is instilled in the reader that the command was guilty of improper combat training for the troops on the Western Front, and then also of criminal inability to lead them in the battles that developed.

To some extent these thoughts are also ascribed to Pavlov. "And as he looked around he had to acknowledge that as district commander, on the eve of the war he had not done much of what he was supposed to have done." [23] However, "not done much" is not the same as "criminal acts and treachery."

A moral justification for the severe penalty is also put forward in a conversation between I.V. Stalin and B.M. Shaposhnikov.

"Stalin: 'And why do you doubt the correctness of this step?'

"'No, I have no doubts. The tragedy of General Pavlov, Klimovskiye, Grigoryev, Klych, Korobkov... fades against the background of the tens and tens of thousands of people who have died or been taken prisoner by the Germans.'

"'And the losses of territory, the destruction of our air force, the seizure of our warehouses by the fascists?' Stalin fixed the marshal with a cold, narrow gaze.

"'Yes,' Shaposhnikov agreed. 'and all of this together has led us to decide on this difficult, but under the circumstances correct step, which should be edifying for the entire command and political staff of the Armed Forces.'" [24]

A new motive unexpectedly appears in the story of Pavlov and the other arrested generals.

"Mekhlis suddenly announced to the Military Council that he suspected Pavlov of plotting with the fascists...

"'In that case,' Timoshenko remarked, staring indignantly at Mekhlis, 'you can add me to the list of Hitler's accomplices, because Pavlov has only done what I ordered him to do.'" [25]

Also typical of the author's position is the conversation that takes place in Stalin's office when he, Stalin, is rebuking Mekhlis for his attempt to find a "fifth column" among the Soviet troops:

"'You suggest that the former peasant Pavlov who became a general in the army and a Hero of the Soviet Union could plot with fascists against a worker-peasant state?!... Because this is precisely the accusation forwarded to Moscow from Smolensk against the generals being tried!... It is a good thing that here in Moscow the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court looked into everything and withdrew the crazy accusations that Pavlov signed, obviously wanting to show the absolute absurdity of it all or, in a moment of insanity or a fit of blind resentment.'" [26]

The version of a plot between Pavlov and the Hitlerites was disproved. But the accusation of criminal activity stood.

In the novel we find a statement that is frightening in its nakedness, when parrying Timoshenko's objection that Pavlov could not have plotted with the fascists, Mekhlis says: "But of course we must also give some thought to how we shall explain to our people and to the entire world why the Red Army is retreating..." [27]

On the ninth day of the war the command of the Western Front was relieved of its duties and then brought before a court of the Military Tribunal. "The sentence was merciless." [28]

Decades have passed since then. As they turn to the events of the last war, writers and historians reveal the great feats of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces, who in improbably difficult circumstances defended the independence of the motherland, provided fraternal assistance to the peoples of Europe and Asia in their national liberation struggle, and played a decisive role in the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism. The war was a great drama in which the fates of millions of peoples were decided. On the roads at the fronts and deep in the rear feats were accomplished that have gone down forever in the chronicles of world history. But during the course of the struggle there were mistakes and miscalculations and incorrect decisions. All this is reflected in the literature.

I. Standyuk's novel "War"--a work of creative profundity--shows the epoch-making nature of the year 1941 through the fates of individual people. The war broke out at a time when our country had not yet fully completed its preparations to repulse the fascist aggression. Moreover, the troops in the western border districts had not been brought in good time to a state of combat readiness. Taking advantage of the factor of surprise and possessing numerical superiority of forces and capabilities, the enemy invaded Soviet territory. On the first day of the war 1,200 aircraft in our air force were destroyed on their airfields and in unequal combat, communications were disrupted and control of the troops was for a time lost. The situation was complex not only on the Western salient where the enemy made his main strike but also on the Northwest and Southwest salients.

Against the background of this tragic circumstance, the novel traces the actions of the personages and the fate of the first command of the Western Front, which does not stand up as an objective analysis. Particularly its moral-legal aspect. The author's interpretation of the fate of Pavlov and his brothers-in-arms is in dispute. Later, in one of his articles I. Standyuk remarked that in their letters readers of the novel had expressed "differing viewpoints on the degree of their blame, whether the punishment fit the crime and so forth." "Unfortunately," the author noted, "I can add nothing to this." [29] And again: "... among readers' letters I also found those that related in great detail the particulars of many of the events described, and I became convinced that the truth of the facts and the artistic generalization were moving in the same direction and not at variance." [30] However, what the writer correctly calls the "great truth of life, destinies and characters" [31] remains a subject for further consideration in the historical and artistic literature. And, I suggest, it is finally high time to say that Pavlov and his brothers-in-arms were not guilty of the crimes of which they were accused.

The past, like the present, is a complex process; it is made up of the actions and fates of a great number of people and the alternation of different phenomena, contradictions and law-governed patterns. It is a contrast of light and dark. As he reads the pages of the past the researcher strives to recognize the deeper substance of the history of peoples and states and to describe their accomplishments, triumphs and tragedies, reveal the decisive role of the popular masses in the development of society, and offer an evaluation of historical figures that is not dependent on time.

There is only one truth in history and it should be complete in everything, large and small, far and near.

The new edition of the CPSU Program has formulated a principled position on the perfection of Soviet democracy at the present stage of development in the political system of society, and it points out the need for a more complete realization "of socialist self-management by the people on the basis of active and effective participation by the workers and their collectives and organizations in resolving the issues of state and public life." [32]

All of this, of course, also applies to the activities of historians. It is scarcely necessary to remind you of the obvious here, but I shall do it anyway. Soviet historians are indoctrinated by socialist society and in terms of their world outlook they are Marxists, and in terms of their civic conviction and feelings, patriots. The Soviet state has provided them with an education and they possess the knowledge and the corresponding professional experience. Our historical sciences are being developed under favorable conditions. The scientific collectives of researchers are working fruitfully. Soviet historiography is periodically augmented with valuable works. New cadres of historians are being trained. Historical knowledge is spread through numerous publications, lectures and statements by historians on radio and television. However, historians frequently also encounter unjustified difficulties that reduce the effectiveness of their creative activities. They occur most often during the preparation of completed research for publication. But for the sake of total clarity, we must first talk about something else. "Unfinished" manuscripts that are ill-prepared professionally that arrive at an editorial office should not be "brought up to scratch" by an editor, wasting his time and effort. They should simply be sent back to where they came from. The real difficulties lie elsewhere. The existing system by which manuscripts pass through a publishing house is such that overcautious trends prevail. This leads to a situation in which an editor sometimes strikes out from a work that has been created everything that is pointed, debatable or new, sometimes placing the author in a hopeless position.

Of course, editorial work is needed on a manuscript. However, the relationship between editor and author should be one of good will. And if a situation in which disagreements of basic issues arise, then they should be resolved by relying on democratic principles. Openness as applied to scientific creativity means broad discussion of disputed issues. Then, the final word in the interpretation of problems in the historical sciences should be with the scholars and the scientific collectives. Denying their priority in questions of science is not the same as denying their professional, ideological or political maturity.

At his meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with leaders in the mass information and propaganda media, CPSU Central Committee general secretary M.S. Gorbachev expressed a thought that also applies in full to the sphere of activity in the social sciences: "Today the main thing is not only to preserve but also develop in every possible and enrich and saturate with ideas and deeds the atmosphere created by the congress, and to print frank and direct discussion of ways to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. There must be more practical action and initiative and fewer words and exclamations of delight." [33]

At this qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet society a knowledge of the lessons of the past is an important factor for advance. Historians can and must increase their contribution to the spiritual life of socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

10. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 18 Dec 1985.

11. Ibid., 12 Feb 1986.
12. P. Ulyashov. "In Line for Hope. On Yev. Yevtushenko's poem 'Fuku!'" PRAVDA 12 Jan 1986.
13. Yu. Andreyev. "Russkiy sovetskiy istoricheskiy roman" [The Russian Soviet Historical Novel], Moscow, Leningrad, 1962; "Sodruzhestvo nauk i tayny tvorchestva" [Cooperation between the Sciences and the Secrets of Creativity], Moscow, 1968; L.V. Cherepnin. "Istoricheskiy vzglyady klassikov russkoy literatury" [Historical Views of the Classics of Russian Literature], Moscow, 1972; S. Petrov. "Russkiy sovetskiy istoricheskiy roman" [The Russian Soviet Historical Novel], Moscow 1980; and others.
14. V. Pashuto. "Literature and History: Ways for Creative Cooperation." LITERATURNOE OBOZRENIYE No 7, 1982, pp 12-13.
15. Nikoloay Proshunin. "A Word about Criticism" KOMMUNIST No 14, 1985, p 83.
16. "Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny" [History of World War II], Vol 5, Moscow, 1975, p 113.
17. Ibid., p 146.
18. Ibid., p 121.
19. V.A. Anfilov. "Nezabyvayemyy sorok pervyy" [The Unforgettable Year of 1941], Moscow, 1982, p 155.
20. Ibid., p 156.
21. I. Standiyuk. Collected Works, Vol 3, Book 2. Moscow, 1984, p 443.
22. Ibid., p 444.
23. Ibid., p 449.
24. Ibid., pp 487-488.
25. Ibid., Vol 4, Book 3, Moscow, 1985, p 171.
26. Ibid., p 211.
27. Ibid., p 172.
28. Ibid., Vol 3, Book 2, p 449.
29. Ibid., Vol 4, Book 3, p 425.
30. Ibid., p 426.

31. Ibid., p 427.

32. "Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress],
p 158.

33. PRAVDA 15 Mar 1986

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

LEGAL EXPERT ON VIDEOTAPES, ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 58 - 59

[Interview with Professor Yuriy Lyatunov, a member of the Scientific Consultative Council of the RSFSR Supreme Court and doctor of jurisprudence, by editors V. Viktorov and G. Nikolayev; date and place not given; first paragraph is ZHURNALIST introduction]

[Text] Video recorders are becoming more widespread in daily life. More and more articles are appearing on this subject. Journalists are studying it from different points of view. In particular, one of the most important articles appeared in the May issue of the journal CHELOVEK I ZAKON. It told about the activity of "smart video dealers" and entire "video firms" that have violated Soviet laws.

[Question] During the past several years, different calibers of "video firms" have had criminal proceedings instituted against them and been convicted in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, and several cities in Armenia, Tajikistan, Latvia, and Moldavia. From a legal point of view, they are engaged in a forbidden trade -- the manufacturing or sale of pornographic items, and the organization of collective viewings of video films with an anti-Soviet content. Don't you think that this evaluation of their activity does not reflect the essence of the crime sufficiently fully? The readers are asking about this in their letters.

[Answer] I agree with you. To begin, let us take your expression "not sufficiently fully". Let us now try to examine and understand everything in a little more detail. The rating of the crimes committed by these persons is in accordance with Articles 162 and 228 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and the corresponding articles in the criminal codes of the other union republics and is absolutely justified. However, ... it is known that films, which teem with scenes of sex and violence and which distort the Soviet way of life, stimulate or form base instincts and distort our moral values. Why do we so seldom remember that we are frequently talking about war propaganda -- a very grave crime? Such actions fall under the crime stipulated by Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and are called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

The conclusion? Persons who are guilty of arranging collective viewings of films with an anti-Soviet content should have criminal proceedings instituted

against them when all of the other signs of the appropriate corpus delicti are present -- not only for a crime against public safety and public order but also for the mentioned and especially dangerous crime.

It is difficult to describe the term "anti-Soviet" simply and briefly. Anti-Sovietism also includes slanderous fabrications, which discredit the Soviet state and social system, and the publicizing of ideas and views hostile to the Soviet state, that is, actions aimed at undermining or weakening Soviet power.

[Question] Today, many bourgeois newspapers are ordering and receiving from their Moscow correspondents articles on the subject of "the passion for videos in the USSR". The journalists, who are accredited in our country, are avidly writing about the "constant desire" of "video" owners to acquire such anti-Soviet films as Rambo and Rocky-IV from dealers.

[Answer] This is anti-Sovietism in its pure form. To confirm your words, let me cite one from the English SUNDAY TIMES that published an article by Moscow correspondent [Luizy Brenson]: "Rambo's total war against the red threat has finally splashed out onto Moscow's streets." As they say, this is an evil tune and the first phrase. Then, the journalist avidly talks about the popularity of this film among the dealers. Well, we ourselves write about the fact that video dealers specialize primarily in circulating anti-Soviet material and pornography. However, there is another variety of dealer -- those who take 25 rubles from an individual to watch these films in apartments, according to the assurances of Western correspondents.

[Question] I would like to expand on a subject that you have touched upon: Can the organizing of collective viewings of films with an anti-Soviet content be regarded as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda?

[Answer] The evaluation of the act depends on a number of factors: First of all, there is the personality of the "business man" himself, and then, of course, there are the goals which he is pursuing in organizing the collective video viewings.

If he is deliberately doing this to undermine or weaken Soviet authority, these actions cover the indicators for a corpus delicti that are stipulated in Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

But what if the guilty party is arranging such video viewings for the sole purpose of making a profit? Of course, even in this case his actions exert a noxious effect on the audience, implant among the viewers an ideology that is alien to us, and popularize the cult of violence and sex. The question inevitably arises: In pursuing the goal of illegal personal enrichment, does this person realize what consequences of a moral and political nature his criminal actions can entail? I am confident that smart video dealers understand everything perfectly well. Let us look at people against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted for such actions: The overwhelming majority of them are people who have a higher (many -- a humanities) education. I am

sure that they foresaw the negative social, psychological, political and ideological consequences that inevitably arise as a result of viewing a film with such a content.

[Question] However, there also exist people who -- as it is acceptable to say -- gyrate "around videos." These are those who engage in repairing a set, knowing full well the tastes of the owner, and translate films into Russian. Are these subject to criminal proceedings?

[Answer] Intentional assistance in the commission of a crime is regarded as participation. However, participation -- complicity -- can incriminate a person only when certain conditions are present. First, there is the person's realization of the compatibility, that is, the interconnection of the actions of all participants, and the desire to commit that crime. It is not difficult for me to interpret these propositions of the law in a popular manner.

I understand that it is not easy for the reader to understand legal matters, but I would like to especially add that Article 228¹ was incorporated into the RSFSR Criminal Code on 1 August 1986. I will quote it verbatim: "The making, dissemination and showing of movie and video films or any other works that publicize the cult of violence and cruelty is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of up to two years, or by corrective work for the same period, or by a fine of up to 300 rubles with the confiscation of the works and the means for making and showing them." Thus, the courts can now quite accurately evaluate "video matters" as separate crimes.

[Question] This legal norm defines the boundary between, on the one hand, such crimes as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and, on the other hand, the making or dissemination of works that extol the cult of violence and cruelty?

[Answer] Evidently that is so. However, I think that it is still early to talk about the effectiveness of the law's new article. You see, only a few months have passed since the publication of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree that incorporated it.

[Question] Up until now we have been talking about violations of the law by people who circulate and sell films with an anti-Soviet or pornographic content. However, do we really not know how they are getting here...?

[Answer] Even here, there are no "dark spots." Basically, Soviet people returning from business trips to Western countries bring video films back. We have available information that the Western special services now think that the "best gift" for a Soviet citizen is one or several video cassettes. They are not stingy with video recorders themselves and with the selection of films with an anti-Soviet content. Returning to the laws again: If it is proven that persons consciously disseminate slanderous fabrications that discredit the Soviet state and social system and act so as to undermine or weaken Soviet authority and in the interest of the organizations that are supplying them

with financial resources or other material valuables, their actions fall under the indicators of the corpus delicti that are stipulated in part 2 of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Its sanctions permit the application of a heavier punishment on the guilty party as compared to the first part -- up to 10 years imprisonment.

Some, who are not too discriminating in selecting friends and who poorly distinguish the enemies of the people, can become a weapon for conducting hostile actions against their own country. No references of the type "I did not know -- I did not understand" can be accepted in the accounting. It is not necessary to be a specialist in the field of criminal law in order to know what is pornography and anti-Sovietism.

[Question] As is known, the authorship right to a movie or television film belongs to the enterprise that shoots it. Questions on protecting authorship rights to works are regulated by international conventions: the Universal (Geneva) Convention on Authorship Rights dated 1952 (the last edition was in 1971) and the 1886 Berne Convention on Protecting Literary and Artistic Works. The unapproved circulation and sale of video cassettes by individual Soviet citizens are violations of these international documents. The first and last names of these individuals are known -- the newspapers have reported them -- and many of them have already been deservedly punished for engaging in an illegal trade. Why then has not one of the Western firms demanded compensation in accordance with the provisions of the conventions?

[Answer] It is interesting I think that we and you know the answer. But what could the firms producing anti-Soviet and pornographic films reply? Or does their silence "compensate" them with interest?

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

PRAVDA DEPLORES NATIONALISM IN KAZAKH PRESS

PM121013 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent T. Yesilbayev report under the rubric "Party Life: Press Review": "Price of Self-Admiration"]

[Text] Alma-Ata--Just a little while ago in newspaper and journal articles about Kazakhstan you could often encounter expressions like "laboratory of the peoples' friendship" and "planet of 1,000 languages." You have to admit that these metaphors really did and do reflect the international nature of a republic in which representatives of many of our country's nations and ethnic groups live in a united family.

However, there is something else that has to be mentioned, too. In recent years work on the ideological and political and international education of the population in Kazakhstan has often boiled down to lofty phrases, statements of fact, and overemphasis of successes. Small wonder that the negative phenomena and distortions against which the party and the people have today begun to wage a resolute struggle were also manifested in the sphere of national relations. There are sometimes displays of local favoritism, tendencies toward national exclusiveness, feelings of national arrogance, and even the incidents that occurred in Alma-Ata on 17 and 18 December last year.

The entire atmosphere of our life and joint labor, the family, education, the army, culture, literature, and art, the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum noted, are called upon to mold and instill the most noble feeling--feelings of internationalism and Soviet patriotism--in Soviet people of all nationalities, especially young people.

The press plays a great role in implementing this responsible task. Analysis of the material published in Kazakhstan's newspapers and journals last year shows that the republic's mass media carried out certain work to explain the party's policy directed toward all-around economic, social, and spiritual growth in our society and harmonious development of the individual.

At the same time most newspapers and journals were unsystematic in covering questions of international education and failed to formulate their own line and direction. As a rule, such items were pegged to holidays and were turned

into a kind of short-term campaign. However, this is not a one-shot business but a most important political task requiring constant attention.

The range of authors writing on these themes is extremely narrow. They were mostly journalists and social scientists. Newspapers and journals rarely gave space in their columns to workers, kolkhoz members, literary figures, artists, and party, soviet, and economic leaders. Obviously, many press organs were purely formal in their treatment of this important matter and failed to attach due importance to it. The theme of international education is not reflected even in the current plans of the republican newspaper SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN and KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. Instead of showing specific people in specific circumstances, newspapers and journals often confined themselves to jingoistic slogans and trumpeted the successes of the republic and the oblasts without making a profound analysis or offering a realistic assessment of the situation.

Items using specific examples to show the sources and results of the peoples' friendship and revealing the importance of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance to the Kazakh people's destiny appeared only sporadically. Certain authors who were overly enthusiastic about the republic's real and imagined successes failed to distinguish between genuine national pride and national self-admiration (issue 2 of the journal PROSTOR for 1986).

Items devoted to the deepening and expansion of economic links and also to socialist competition between the fraternal republics completely disappeared from the newspapers. Journalists also lost sight of the important question of the fulfillment by Kazakhstan's production collectives of their contractual commitments to enterprises in other regions of the country. Yet it is precisely living links between labor collectives that are a specific manifestation of the peoples' friendship.

The propaganda articles published in certain oblast newspapers--for instance, Chimkent's ONTUSTIK QAZAQSTAN and YUZHNY QAZAQSTAN--were notable only for their mechanical repetition of truisms and verbal blather. The author of the article "We Are the Soviet People" published in Dzhambul's ZNAMYA TRUDA on 30 December 1986 notes that the establishment of the peoples' friendship as the determining principle of inter-national relations does not rule out nationalist survivals in the consciousness and behavior of certain people. This is clearly a logical contradiction on the author's part, since the manifestation of such survivals is the result of failures in international education. It would be deeply wrong to regard them as inevitable.

The Guryev Oblast paper KOMMUNISTIK ENGBEK, Semipalatinsk's IRTYSH, Taldy-Kurgan's ZARYA KOMMUNIZMA, Dzhambul's ENGBEK TUY, Mangyshlak's KOMMUNISTIK ZHOL, and the republican youth papers LENINSHIL ZHAS and LENINSKAYA SMENA only occasionally addressed questions of international education.

Many Kazakh-language newspapers and journals, in particular QAZAQSTAN AYYELDERI ("Women of Kazakhstan"), MADENIYET ZHANE TURMYS ("Culture and Daily Life"), and ONTUSTIK QAZAQSTAN contain only Kazakh names and the photographs in them largely feature representatives of the indigenous nationality. This

kind of one-sided coverage of the life of a multinational republic is scarcely conducive to instilling an awareness of the unity of all Soviet people's interests. Clearly, the editorial boards of the aforementioned publications believe that if a newspaper or journal is published in a national language, then it need not be international. Such a mistaken stance tends to artificially consolidate national isolation.

ZHULDUZ ("The Star"), the journal of the KAZAKHSTAN Writers Union, very rarely acquaints Kazakh readers with the works of Russian writers and writers belonging to other nations. Why? Answering this question, Union Executive Secretary A. Dzhaksybayev declared: "We don't have a publication specializing in translations!"

On 10 December 1986 VECHERNYAYA ALMA-ATA published a report entitled "Welcome to 'Er-tostik'!" to mark the opening of a kindergarten. The author cannot hide his delight: "Everything here is like a fairytale.... The future masters of this spacious and elegant stone palace slowly climb the steps. They are dark-eyed, smiling, happy. Five-year-old Timur and 3-year-old Nadzhiya are doctors' children.... Two-year-old Bekzat is the son of a proofreader at the 'Kaynar' publishing house.... There are 230 children in all."

The newspaper goes on to report that "all the tuition and teaching in the kindergarten will be in the Kazakh language--as the children themselves and their parents chose." "As the children themselves chose"! This is referring to kids aged between 2 and 5 who have scarcely learned to speak! "As soon as they had settled in the new kindergarten," the newspaper concludes, "the initiators of the celebrations were visited by a big delegation from Kindergarten No 161, where tuition and teaching are also carried out in the Kazakh language." The question arises: Was there any need to publish a piece like this that propagandizes national isolation from kindergarten age?

The republican newspaper SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN went even further and devoted one-fourth of a page to this event on 16 December. It wrote: "The opening ceremony of a new kindergarten took place recently. It was attended by construction works, representatives of public education organs, and party and soviet workers.... Thus, yet another Kazakh kindergarten has opened in Alma-Ata, the republic's capital." What a truly historic event!

On 3 October last year the youth paper LENINSHIL ZHAS published a letter whose writers suggest that more Kazakh schools and kindergartens be opened in Alma-Ata and the republic's virgin-land oblasts. Commenting on the letter, a well known Kazakh poet supports their idea. He believes that this is a major problem bound up with the future of the Kazakh language and literature. "It is one of the main duties of every Kazakh, every Kazakh family, everyone who regards himself as a Kazakh, and the entire population to be proud of their native language, to be concerned for its purity, and to promote its development," he says. "The strength of a people lies in the strength of their language. We must turn our native language into one of the most oratorical, most literate, and richest languages. That is our duty today, and also the duty of future generations."

It is easy to see that national egoism lies behind the talk of concern for the development of the native language, which is natural for any people. And these things are being propagandized in a newspaper that is mostly read by young people.

However, there are many schools and kindergartens in the republic where teaching and tuition are carried out in the Kazakh language. The factors that are taken into account are the number of residents belonging to the indigenous nationality in the particular locality and the parents' wishes. But is it justified to raise the question of opening such preschool establishments and schools everywhere? It is far more sensible to create Kazakh language groups wherever necessary and for children of different nationalities to live and study not in isolation, but in the same schools and kindergartens. It is appropriate to recall V.I. Lenin's words here: "What is more harmful than anything is the desire to inflame nationalism, to isolate one of the nationalities in the state from another, to intensify their alienation, and to divide their schools."

Pieces like those that appeared 12 December last year in the newspaper QAZAQ ADEBIYETI ("Kazakh Literature") and also in the December issue of the journal BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK ("Knowledge and Labor") are not conducive to educating people in a spirit of internationalism either. Items about the upcoming all-union population census say that while in 1962 Kazakhstan's indigenous population made up 29 percent of the total, it will reach 50 percent by the year 2000. In the future, the author forecasts, because of the low birthrate and decline in migration the growth rate of the population originating from the USSR's European territory will not be what it was before, and the proportion of Kazakhs in the republic will reach 65-70 percent.

The September issue of BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK cites a vague argument about the origin of tribes and clans [rodov i zhuzov]. Incidentally, this piece is not isolated. Such items have appeared here before.

All these miscalculations, to put it mildly, in newspaper and journal articles intended for the general reader are bound to exert a negative influence. And it is no accident that survivals of national narrow-mindedness, self-admiration, and pomposity surface in some places.

The December events in Alma-Ata highlighted the major shortcomings in the work of Kazakhstan's ideological cadres, including the press. A reassessment of the old approaches toward covering questions of the population's ideological and political, international, and moral education is now under way. The republic's party organizations, its ideological institutions, and of course, its journalists have much to do to bring the level of propaganda of the ideas of the people's friendship up to the requirements that the party Central Committee levies on the press. There is no more noble task than educating Soviet people in the spirit of a proud sense of belonging to the united socialist motherland--the USSR.

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RELIGION

'MISDEEDS' OF 'SELF-PROCLAIMED' MULLAH TRACED

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 30 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by A. Sanginov, under the "Court Report" rubric, from the TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI of 24 November: "The Web, or the Indecent Acts of a Self-Proclaimed Mullah and His Admirers"; first six paragraphs are boldface introductory material; other boldface material in the source is rendered all in capital letters]

[Text] "He was showing on a videotape recorder, not only movies about holy people, but films on karate as well, and even...obscene films."

"Vakh-vakh [Good grief], what won't these modern mullahs think of next!"

"May the people's bread stick in his throat...."

"He spun his web like a spider...."

"And there are people who follow his kind. Where are their eyes, or have they lost their minds?!"

(From what was overheard in the courtroom)

Just who is he? What brought him to the dock? Who is this man that both young and old were gossiping about on the day of the trial in Kulyab?

His name is Negmatullo Inoyatov. He was born in Kulyab in 1950. In 1969, he finished the evening secondary school for working youths there. Then he studied for 2 months in the Kulyab Pedagogical Institute's mathematics and physics department. Later, he tried his hand at a cookstove in the public nutrition system--worked as a cook. He did not last there either.

He did not seek the meaning of life. Basically he lived according to his "physical" needs, not overburdening his mind with thoughts of what would be left behind him. Some people leave behind them a blossoming garden, while others, like a jellyfish caught in a sunbeam--a damp spot, emptiness, nothing.... Judging by his deeds, Negmatullo Inoyatov more properly belongs among the latter--the jellyfish-like.

So, why did he not study even for one semester at the VUZ [higher educational institution]? "Expel him from the institute for his obscene conduct and gross violation of discipline" is recorded in Order No 174 of 21 November 1969 to the Kulyab Pedagogical Institute. At that time, he had made an attempt upon the chastity of a girl in the dormitory. No great amount of time passed between that incident and his taking "the path of the righteous."

Do you think he had renounced earthly pleasures and begun to pray for the forgiveness of his sins?

No, he simply had put on the outward appearance or, more accurately, the mask of a godly man, which would allow him to sin secretly, calculatingly and, most importantly, with impunity. He had become firm in this intention after working a while as yardman for a mullah Abdurakhim. Here, then, is a new character in this story. Who, after all, had become the religion teacher of yesterday's sinner?

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: Abdurakhim Karimov, born 1950, a resident of the village [kishlak] of Tebalay in Leningradskiy Rayon. He had been warned repeatedly by administrative agencies about disturbing public order, propagandizing hostile opinions and an improper life style, keeping suspicious literature, and attracting children to religious instruction.

In the person of mullah Abdurakhim, N. Inoyatov had found a man from whom he could assimilate more than enough experience in the area of deceiving gullible people. As a beginning, the "repentant" sinner barely mastered arabic script and memorized a few abstruse phrases.

"That is not enough for serving Allah, but it is enough to serve the people. Go to them, and they will teach you the rest themselves," mullah Abdurakhim said, in parting, to the beginning father confessor, who only yesterday had been sweeping his yard.

And Negmatullo began to gather a congregation. Surrounded by obsequious admirers, his "talent" took root in fertile soil. Here, for example, is one of his volunteer assistants.

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: Asomiddin Arbobov--a Kulyab Pedagogical Institute graduate and gortorg [city trade administration] salesman.

At one time, Asomiddin was in the hospital recovering from jaundice. The "reverend father" came there to visit him. In the hospital room, he gave a performance with the obvious intention of attracting a somewhat larger audience.

"Moslems, the end of the world is near; for the sake of your salvation, turn to faith before it is too late," Negmatullo preached loudly. "Last Friday, the image of (Khodzhi) Alaykhissalom appeared to me in a dream. He confided his worries to me, and asked me to tell the faithful to unite into a single rank."

"Son of God" Asomiddin nodded his head affirmatively from time to time, as if confirming what was said. Those gathered around reacted in different ways to the ishan's [holy man's] misconduct. His words plunged some into meditation, aroused others' suspicion, and left a third group indifferent.

FROM THE TESTIMONY OF GAIB KHOLOV RESIDENT OF THE CITY OF KULYAB, PARTY AND LABOR VETERAN: "The blood rushed to my head because of those words. I told him: Retribution will overtake you in our people's hospitality. Why do you say stupid words; to what are you inciting the people? After my remarks, he left hurriedly...."

He left in order to surface in another place. During the evening of 17 April 1985, a white "Moskvich" was parked near the gate of house No 23 on Sadykov Street in Kulyab. A rather short man with a narrow squint of the eyes and a black mustache got out of the car. He knocked at the gate and shouted loudly: "Man of God Askarsho!" A young man appeared at the doors and greeted him respectfully: "Ah-h, dear mullah Negmatullo, what kind deeds have brought you here?"

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: Askarsho Dzhabirov, born 1958, Kulyab Myasokombinat [Meat-Packing Combine] worker, VLKSM [All-Union Communist Youth League] member.

Not even half an hour had passed when guests, mainly residents of the neighboring houses, began to enter house No 23. It soon became crowded in the courtyard. About 30 persons had gathered. Negmatullo, pompously seating himself on a box covered with skins, looked intently into the faces of those assembled.

"You are a good man, Askarsho, you know people. It is obvious that there are none such as Gaib Khol among those present. But tell me, anyway, who is that sitting quieter than all the rest there in the corner?"

"Don't worry, respected one," the hospitable host reassured him, "Nurali-aka is his own man...."

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: Nurali Tugmayev--teacher at the city of Kulyab's secondary school No 4, student of Kulyab Pedagogical Institute's correspondence course department.

Negmatullo, satisfied with the answer, turned toward those assembled and said:

"Moslems, your humble servant, together with several of God's people, listened to Islamic Iran Radio last night...."

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: He regularly listened to radio broadcasts of religious content made from the territory of Iran and Pakistan, together with Imomali Isoyev--"Obshchepit" Trust employee, Azim Kurbanov--"Plodoovosch" Association worker, Azim Kayumov--avtobaz No 17 driver, Khafiz Khamidov--resident of Tutoi village in Leningradskiy Rayon, and Asomiddin Arbobov--city trade administration salesman.

"Khazrat Khodzhatulislom," began the "reverend father" (He gave the first name that came to mind, by the way, in order to lend authenticity to his words), "has called upon us, my brothers, to unite under the banner of Islam. We must not remain indifferent to this appeal.... And now, my brothers, let us permit ourselves to see an instructive film from the distant banks of the Nile for the purpose of cleansing our sinful minds. But before this...."

Here he looked meaningfully at Askarsho. The latter got up, tied a white kerchief to his belt, and began to walk among those present. Crumpled bills of 5- to 10-ruble denomination started falling into the kerchief.

Mullah Negmatullo considered it necessary to add: "Do not be stingy, faithful ones, and you will be able to see scenes from the life of immoral sinners from Guriya...." With this, he smiled with the corners of his mouth. Those assembled exchanged glances knowingly. Many had heard about the self-proclaimed mullah's entertainments.

At Askarsho's direction, two of his schoolboy brothers brought the videotape recorder in from the car.

"The future of Islam is in your hands, my children," Negmatullo approvingly praised the young men. "But now sit down over here," and he indicated to them a place near the door.

FROM THE INVESTIGATION MATERIALS: Zevarsho and Akhtamsho Dzhabirov--students at Kulyab's secondary school No 7. They had fallen under the mullah's influence.

Pictures of battles and banquets came alive on the screen, interrupted by the reading of a prayer from verses of the Koran [namaz]. Negmatullo himself knew the content of the films thoroughly, and had lost interest in them long ago. However, he did not forget to comment on particular scenes.

When the portrayal of a samurai sword appeared on the screen, splitting heads left and right, he exclaimed, trying to give his voice excited intonations:

"Moslems, before you is the saber of the prophet Mohammed. See how heroically he fought against infidels."

"But why is he, himself, not seen?" asked someone in the audience.

"Do not be blasphemous, my son!" Negmatullo abruptly cut him short, and at once produced an answer. "No one has a right to see the holy person."

...Mullah Negmatullo once appeared at a wedding incognito, and began inflammatory preachings at the very height of the merriment. Only a few guests at the heavily attended celebration found in themselves the "courage" to get up and head quietly for the gates so that, although not intervening, at least they would not hear the anti-Soviet ravings. But it was not to be.

"Close the gate!" shouted the noble Negmatullo imperiously. "He who leaves now will be declared a genuine infidel."

This seemingly paralyzed the "courageous ones." They stayed to hear the "reverend father's" loud and terrible speeches, in which religious fanaticism and hatred for the society that had nurtured him were interwoven inseparably.

"It is a shame, Moslems, to forget your faith. Why is this wedding feast being conducted contrary to the customs of our forefathers? Islam does not allow women to be present at a wedding, and does not permit singing and dancing. Only a Moslem wedding ceremony can sanctify a marriage, not some ceremony at the ZAGS [civil registry office].

Thus ranted the semiliterate self-proclaimed mullah, in complete confidence that no one would rise, take him beyond the gate, and put him out like the household trash. And, to be sure, party members also were present at that wedding of course.... They tolerated, gradually became inured, became reconciled, and did not even notice, as it turned out, that the mullah's speech had begun to signify more than, shall we say, a speech of the chairman of a village soviet or kolkhoz leader. Did not the expelled student, yesterday's rapist, feel himself master of the situation because of their tacit consent?

The self-proclaimed mullah had prospered since he put the broom aside and, having received blessings upon godly work, left his religion teacher's yard. From the day when yesterday's loafer took the path of a righteous man, where and how to obtain his daily bread had ceased to dominate his thoughts. The ignoramus rightly had made it clear to himself that in order to take a wheat cake out of a passer-by's hands, it is entirely unnecessary to compel him to give it up by threats or, God deliver us, a beating. It suffices to act in the name of Allah, and any passer-by, provided, of course, that he has at least one believer in his family, willingly will share the most expensive thing with you. Thanks to such people of good will, mullah Negmatullo had begun to live perfectly comfortably.

However, like any Pharisee, he also wanted a bit of glory, and at least some kind of popularity, in addition to material well-being. Therefore, he also put to use a videotape recorder, with a clever set of videofilms calculated for all tastes: from religious ones to the most obscene ones of all sorts. Because of his immoral habits, he himself quickly became accustomed to a video-hodgepodge of prayers, sadistic scenes, and pornography. But how could the people who strove to beat a path to God with his help, considering themselves absolutely faithful and uniquely worthy of God's grace, look at this? Well, indeed: Holiness has lived amicably with hypocrisy, in the same person and under the same mortal guise, since antiquity. "Reverend Father" Negmatullo Inoyatov himself serves as self-evident confirmation of this.

From his youthful years, he did not want to live in harmony with the law, and did not wish to study or simply work conscientiously as did his contemporaries

and former fellow students. I met with two of those who, at one time, had occasion to study with the future fraud. I liked these open, hard-working people: builder Bobodzhon Muradov and teacher Khaydar Rakhmatulloyev. They live right here, on the same ground along which the self-proclaimed mullah slipped like a dark shadow. But unlike their former classmate, Bobodzhon and Khaydar know well the value of such concepts as a good name and work integrity. Each in his own way, they already have sown, and are carefully cultivating, a memory garden that may be termed, with complete justification, a garden of benevolent human human accomplishments.

These people, who grew up and became so dissimilar, differ from each other in that, from the very beginning, energy of opposite polarity, good and evil, was put into matters in their acts. That is why the recently appearing ishan sowed weeds of malice and cruelty about him, trying to make an imaginary line of division between the faithful and unfaithful, and not being averse even to inflaming nationalistic tendencies where this promised advantage.

This story also has another side. The public's tolerance of the self-proclaimed mullah's improper, sometimes illegal activities cannot but be disconcerting. Let us assume that everything is clear with his direct accomplices, whose names are given here. Some sort of charitable crumbs fell their way, so to speak, for enticing people and assembling congregations. Well, and where were those who were obliged to stop the antisocial activity of N. Inoyatov and his like through their kind of official activity, their party duty, and, finally, the call of their civic conscience? One might think that there is neither a Znaniye Society, nor a Scientific Atheism House, nor the corresponding commissions under the ispolkoms of the local soviets in Kulyab Oblast. Yes, there are such, and even goodly forces of propagandists, agitators, atheist lecturers, etc. appear on paper. But where is the result of their work?

It is not a secret that the population's degree of religiousness in the oblast has increased recently. The number of itinerant ishans and self-proclaimed mullahs is being augmented mainly from shiftless adult males having a penchant for sponging. And who will fight against them? To assign this task just to the administrative agencies would be unlawful. So what must be done, wait until the Inoyatovs and their supporters outnumber the powerful organization [apparat] of oblast activists in ideological work? And, as before, continue to console ourselves with the hope that the number of believers will go into decline of itself? But time has been lost even without that....

As early as 3 years ago, a warning about the illegal actions of home-grown father confessors reached the party's oblast committee. However, the committee took no action on it at that time. Is it not necessary today to seek in this one of the causes of the alarming situation that has developed? After all, similar matters now are being investigated simultaneously in several Kulyab Oblast rayons. And who knows, maybe any day now, having put his broom aside, yet another mullah Negmatullo will go to the people from a mullah's yard to spin his sticky web? And that would not be wanted....

CULTURE

ZAMYATIN'S LIFE, WORKS DESCRIBED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 52, 26 Dec 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Oleg Mikhaylov: "A Grand Master of Literature"]

[Excerpts] A grand master of literature--that's what Konstantin Fedin called Yevgeniy Zamyatin in his remarkable book, "Gorkiy sredi nas" [Gorkiy in Our Midst]. "He possessed the sort of artist's perfections that raised him high," wrote Fedin. "But the engineering of his pieces shows through the intention, like a person's ribs on an X-ray screen....It may be that all he lacked to stand on a high rung as a writer was simplicity."

A faithful and brilliant disciple of Gogol and simultaneously a writer who adopted Leskov's precepts in the sphere of word invention and was sensitive to national sources, an artist who was endowed with a keen sense of social contradictions and attempted, like his beloved Wells, to reflect them in a fantastic and allegorical form, Zamyatin, in his best works, gained a lasting place in the history of our country's literature.

Yevgeniy Ivanovich Zamyatin was born 20 January (1 February) 1884 in the city of Lebedyan, Tambov Guberniya (now Lipetsk Oblast) in a gentry family that was not wealthy.

The Lebedyan of Zamyatin's childhood was an unimportant place on the shore of the Don, a somnolent kingdom where local static and quaint life slumbered on behind the fences. It is reflected in the mirror of Zamyatin's novella with the symbolic title "Uyezdnoye" [A Provincial Tale].

At the same time, the geographical names close to Lebedyan could and can tell more vividly than any book about the remarkable images of native Russian culture and literature.

"In the very middle of the map," recalled Zamyatin, "was a little circle. Lebedyan--the very one about which Tolstoy and Turgenev wrote. I was born in Lebedyan....I grew up by the side of the piano. My mother was a good musician. At the age of four I was already reading Gogol. My childhood passed almost without friends: my friends were books. To this day I recall how I trembled reading Dostoyevsky's "Netochka Nezvanova" and Turgenev's "Pervaya Lyubov" [First Love]. These were older and, I dare say, frightening;

Gogol was my friend.

From here, from life in Lebedyan, he carried impressions that much later, transformed, produced the novella "Uyezdnoye," "Alatyr" (1914) and even the work, remote in terms of its material, "Na kulichkakh" [At the End of the World].

The revolutionary events in Russia at the beginning of the 1900s, stormy student gatherings at the Petersburg Polytechnical Institute, practical work in factories, travels abroad on the steamship Rossiya, and the epic of the rebellion on board the Potemkin (vividly reflected in the 1913 short story "Tri dnya" [Three Days] all made up a variegated kaleidoscope that spun and whirled Zamyatin's youth like a chip of wood in a whirlpool. He was with the Bolsheviks and passed the whole scale of prescribed tests: arrest in December 1905, persistent thoughts about a little bag of pyroxilin left on the icon stand (if found, it would mean the gallows), solitary confinement in the Shpalernaya, exile to Lebedyan, illegal residence in Petersburg and then in Helsingfors, Finland. Zamyatin himself was later to say about this romantic time in his life: "The Revolution was a young, fiery-eyed mistress, and I was in love with the Revolution...."

While hiding out from the police, he had to keep changing his places of residence and simultaneously sweat over the drawing board, studying shipbuilding and ship architecture. Zamyatin's exceptional engineering talent, which was revealed most fully during the time of his business trip to Britain, was thus far embodied in special articles that appeared in Petersburg scientific and technical journals. At the same time, he felt an increasingly persistent desire to write, although his literary debut (in 1908, the year he graduated from the Polytechnical Institute) proved unsuccessful. Success came later, with "Uyezdnoye."

The novella was published in the Petersburg magazine ZAVETY, where another significant work, "Na kulichkakh," was also published. In the editorial offices Zamyatin met Aleksey Remizov and Mikhail Prishvin, whose work shared an affinity with his own explorations. With Prishvin he had in common the same native region and an attraction to Russian primacy, nature and elemental forces; with Remizov--an urge toward word invention and the use of the skaz technique, and the search for a new metaphorical medium. Granted, Remizov went further--to pre-Petrine language, to a medieval transrational language [zaum]. They also shared a keen interest in the Russian provinces and the petit bourgeoisie, while simultaneously attempting to rise above everyday life with the use of symbolic, generalizing images. This was the aim with which Remizov wrote his works "Prud" [The Pond], "Krestovyye sestry" [Sisters of the Cross], etc.

His remote, albeit not unconditional teachers, were Gogol, Dostoyevskiy, Leskov and Saltykov-Shchedrin, all radically reinterpreted. In his contemporary Russian literature it was not the realists--Gorkiy, Bunin and Kuprin--but the writers with an inclination toward symbolism and the "modernist" style--Belyy, Andreyev and Sologub--who proved closer to Zamyatin. Moreover, there is a direct continuity between Fedor Sologub's eerie provincial phantasmagoria and the grotesque world of Zamyatin's philistines:

the animal-like, stony Baryba, the doughy voluptuary Chebotarikha, the cadet who went off his rocker from drunkenness and became a monk, the reckless Father Yevsey, the duplicitous lawyer Morgunov ("Uyezdnoye"), the absurd inventor and police superintendent Ivan Makarych and his daughter Glafira, who has become withered from burning passion, the graphomaniacal poet Kostya Yedytkin, the postmaster Prince Vadbolskiy, who believes that the salvation of humanity lies in the universal adoption of Esperanto ("Alatyr"), or the "potato Raphael"--a culinary genius--the vile General Azanchev ("Na kulichkakh").

Zamyatin was a very Russian person. Herein lay his strength as an artist and his tragedy. His attitude toward old Russia can be defined by the words, "love-hate." Love for its sources, its healthy popular foundation, the creative obsession of the Russian character, and its readiness for revolutionary renewal. And hatred for the autocratic police fetters, for provincial obtuseness, barbarous manners, and the reservoir of savagery and lack of culture, a reservoir which, as it seemed to the writer, it would be impossible to exhaust in the foreseeable future.

The symbol of such a stagnant, insurmountable elemental force became Baryba ("Uyezdnoye").

Baryba's way is the way of senseless cruelties and crimes: He "sells himself" to the depraved, aging merchant's wife Chebotarikha, offends the meek orphan Polka, steals money from his friend Father Yevsey and, without batting an eye, sends his other friend, the tailor Timoshka, to the gallows on the basis of false testimony. But is there any sense in blaming Baryba himself for anything, in demanding something else from him? He had been beaten so much during his life that, in the words of that same Timosha, Baryba "has the soul, the conscience of a hen." It's not Baryba but his belly, his iron, stone-cracking jaws and his hungry stomach that move him.

Did Zamyatin also see "the other Russia"? Of course. In the short stories "Tri dnya" [Tree Days] and "Neputevyy" [Good-For-Nothing] (which introduces the "eternal student" Senya, who dies on the barricades) the writer showed protesting, revolutionary Russia. In his cycle of works about our North (the novella "Sever" [The North], the short story "Afrika" and, later, "Yela" [The Yawl]) we meet proud dreamers, strong and handsome people--the good-hearted Russian giant Marey, who has "fallen to thinking," the straightforward, red-headed beauty Penka, the harpooner Fedor Volkov, who is enchanted and stunned by the tale of a nonexistent country of love and plenty--remote Africa--and the poor fisherman and great toiler Tsybin, who is possessed by a passion for his own ship.

Zamyatin seeks out the human element beneath the sort of shell, the sort of scaly encrustations where there would seem to be no place for the soul to find shelter and survive. This sort of "Dostoyevskian" compassion, which sees the insulted and the injured not just in those who are directly socially oppressed and trampled, but even in those who trample them (they themselves, after all, are in a certain sense "victims," products of the environment and circumstances) really is characteristic of all Zamyatin's work. How cruel, it seems, Chebotarikha's coachman Urvanka is ("Uyezdnoye"): "Beating a person to

the verge of death was Urvanka's chief pleasure"; but with what tender love he cares for horses, and how touchingly he treats newly hatched chicks: he catches and "warms the chick with his breath." Later in the 1921 short story "Drakon" [The Dragon] we meet this Urvanka in a Petrograd streetcar in a Red Army greatcoat--having just told how he sent some "intelligentsia mug" packing "to the heavenly gates without a stopover," the soldier throws down his rifle in order to warm up a frozen sparrow.

On the other hand, Zamyatin doesn't have and can't have "favorites." Take the "quiet soul" Timosha, the very embodiment of kindness, a little ray of light in the dark kingdom of the Barybas and Chebotarikhas. And that Timosha in his own family, especially when he is drunk, is a dictator "worse than Robespierre." Kind-hearted tenderness and merciless truthfulness are a combination that shows up vividly in both "Uyezdnoye" and "Alatyr," and even in the gloomiest novella "Na kulichkakh" (1914). The scenes depicting the crowd of monsters, hand puppets and marionettes are unexpectedly illuminated by the author's tender lyricism.

This is the source of a whole throng of poetic female characters--meek sufferers or bold and brave natures, but always devoted lovers who place their feeling above their own honor and life itself.

The romantic awakens in the satirist, the denouncer becomes a dreamer and a poet.

In March 1916 Zamyatin set off on a business trip to Britain, to a plant in Newcastle where with his own direct participation icebreakers were being built for Russia: the St. Alexander Nevskiy (after the revolution, the Lenin), the Svyatogor (later, the Krasin), the Minin, the Pozharskiy and the Ilya Muromets. A skilled naval architect, Zamyatin was in love with icebreakers, the beauty of their forms, the femininity of their lines.

He created them with the thought of Russia and created them for Russia. A war was on, and the country acutely needed a powerful fleet.

But technical creativity did not interfere with his writing. Zamyatin himself recalled:

"Often, when I was returning in the evening from the plant in my little Renault, I was greeted by the dark, blinded city, which had extinguished all its lights: This meant that German zeppelins were somewhere nearby, and that soon their bombs would start crashing down. At night, at home, I would listen to first the distant and then the nearby explosions of these bombs, checking out the drawings of the Lenin and writing my novel about the English--"Ostrovityane" [The Islanders]. As they say, both the novel and the icebreaker turned out successfully.

The transition from Russia to Britain, London and Newcastle was striking. From the burdocks and raspberry patches of Lebedyan to the rumbling docks of Newcastle, from "Uyezdnoye" and "Alatyr" to London, where, climbing in behind the wheel of a car, Zamyatin felt, in the roaring flow, as though he "had lost one arm": he had to control the wheel, shift gears, operate the accelerator

and give signals. He generalized his impressions in one of his best literary articles, about his beloved Wells.

As Zamyatin came to believe, technical progress in and of itself, divorced from moral and spiritual development, not only does not contribute to the improvement of human nature but threatens to crowd out the human in man. Several years later Sergey Yesenin would call the world's leading capitalist power, the United States, the "Iron Mirgorod." The "iron Lebedyan" was revealed to Zamyatin behind the stone, concrete, steel, docks, subways and automobiles. That same torpor, monotony and absence of thought. Only with the British petit bourgeoisie this mechanical existence was carried to perfection--everything was calculated, marked off and integrated. Here you wouldn't even find a soul--everything was the same, everything assembled out of a set of parts: canes, top hats, false teeth, and pince-nez. And the sermons about compulsory salvation, the hypocrisy. It was from here, bourgeois Britain, that Zamyatin drew the conception for his fantastic Utopia, "My" [We] (1920). Here, in Britain, he saw how the foundations of a cursed "machine paradise" were being laid. And if the provincial Chebotarikha would catch lovers for herself, in London, as Zamyatin learned from an Englishman of his acquaintance, "there are people who live by a very strange profession: catching lovers in parks." Thus arose the story, "Lovets chelovekov" [Fisher of Men]--a biting satire on the capitalist West, where money can be made of everything.

The two-year business trip abroad, it seems, influenced Zamyatin. He could now write in English, by his own admission, with the same facility as in Russian; he dressed with European, emphatically foppish care, and he was reservedly polite with his interlocutors. And the nickname "Englishman" firmly attached itself to him. Remizov, who knew him well, laughed: "Zamyatin from Lebedyan, a Tambov native, more Russian than anything, and the style of his language is carefully Russian....Outwardly everything was "proper" and in the English manner. But it wasn't English at all, just made to conform to an engineer's style. And when he lets himself go, look and you'll see a Lebedyan fellow with his hair parted down the middle!"

Remizov was right. Zamyatin's own admission in his "Autobiography" is very important in this connection: "I think that if I hadn't returned from Britain in 1917, if I hadn't lived together with Russia all these years, I couldn't have written any more."

In Petrograd Zamyatin met the October Revolution and experienced the events of the civil war, the cruel destruction and famine.

At that time he became friends with Gorkiy and took part in almost all of his initiatives to save culture--in the work of the World Literature Publishing House, the Committee for Historical Plays, the House of Arts and the House of Scientists. His memoirs of Gorkiy, written in 1936, by which time he was in France, are suffused with deep respect for his personality, his tremendous literary prestige, and his feverish activity in Petrograd. They also tell about Gorkiy's friendship with the group of young Petrograd writers who bore the name Serapion Brothers.

However, it was Zamyatin's literary work of those years that was the most essential and the most contradictory. It includes, above all, the fantastic novel "My," which remained in manuscript form (until it was published in translation abroad), as well as numerous short stories, tales and dramatic "acts," in which the writer in one way or another dealt with the "sore" aspects of revolutionary and postrevolutionary reality: "Rasskaz o samom glavnom" [Story About What's Most Important], "Tserkov bozhiya" [Church of God], "Arapy" [Blackamoors], "Peshchera" [The Cave], "Mamay," "Iks" [X] and others. During that complex time this was perceived by many proletarian writers as apostasy and betrayal, and it aroused active hostility. Unquestionably, grounds for such harsh criticism did exist. During the peak of the civil war, in conditions of wartime communism with its categorical slogan, "Whoever isn't with us is against us," Zamyatin, like certain other "comrade members of the intelligentsia," experienced confusion and disillusionment.

Zamyatin's main work in these first postrevolutionary years was indisputably his fantastic novel "My," which was perceived by his contemporaries as a malicious caricature of the socialist society of the future. Although the novel was not printed, critics analyzed it in detail, quoting lengthy passages and arguing heatedly with the author.

During the '20s Zamyatin also created a number of noteworthy works in which tendentiousness did not get in the artist's way. Such were "Yela," "Navodneniye" [The Flood] and the historical novel "Atilla" [Attila] which was written later. In addition to the tested genre of fiction, the writer now turned to the medium of playwriting and the theater. His comic popular "act" "Blokha" [The Flea], written on the basis of Leskov's motifs, disclosed new facets of Zamyatin's linguistic richness. The scenery for the production was created by the remarkable artist B. M. Kustodiyev (incidentally, he did an excellent portrait of the writer, which we are reproducing here for the first time). Produced in 1925 at the Moscow Art Theater No. 2, and a year later at the Leningrad Bolshoy Theater of Drama, the play enjoyed triumphant success.

The thought of Russia, its sources and its "root" characters, which would not let Zamyatin go when he was working on "Blokha," also illuminated another work of his, the short story "Rus" (1923). It is a molded, resonant prose song that teaches us to love our land. No, we see Zamyatin here not through the grumbling of a skeptically disposed member of the intelligentsia but as a patriotic artist in love with his native land--its past and its future.

But Zamyatin's literary relations were spoiled, it became impossible to live in a "zone of estrangement," and Zamyatin appealed to the Soviet government with a request to permit him to emigrate. This decision was not taken lightly. The writer recognized full well that, in his own words, it would be difficult for him "in the reactionary camp" because of his former membership in the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks), and that he would be regarded as a Bolshevik there, but -- through the intercession of Gorkiy, Zamyatin's request was granted.

Zamyatin intended to continue his literary activity, but remote from his homeland, he was unable to create anything in the least bit significant. What's more, he himself had predicted this to himself 14 years earlier: "If I had not lived together with Russia all these years, I couldn't have written anything more."

Ye. I. Zamyatin died 10 March, 1937, at the age of 53. He was buried in the remote paupers' graveyard of (Tie), near Paris.

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CULTURE

VOZNESENSKIY REINTRODUCES POETRY, BIOGRAPHY OF KHODASEVICH

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 48, Nov 86 pp 26-28

[Article by Andrey Voznesenskiy: "Heavenly Ant"]

[Excerpts] The wings of his pincc-nez gleam. Despite the fables, the exhausting character of the toiler is combined in him with the grasshopper-like ease of the dance. His verse is steeped in formic spirits.

Khoasevich is the flying ant of Russian poetry.

Stopper on a bottle of strong iodine!
How quickly you rotted away.
That's the way the soul invisibly
Burns and eats away the body.

With this stanza alone, Khodasevich ate his way once and for all into Russian literature. But why is it just this that disturbs us today, in the worldwide period of the half-decay of iodine, when, clicking our thyroid, we mutter this verse? At the time it was written, 65 years ago, it seemed mischievous, "pharmaceutical," an instance of contrived originality--the soul and iodine, what do they have in common?

Academician Fersman, having called iodine ubiquitous, wrote: "It is difficult to find another element that is more filled with enigmas and contradictions than iodine. Moreover, we know so little about it and so poorly understand the most fundamental landmarks in the history of its wanderings, that it is still not understood why we use iodine as a medication and how it got on earth."

And the soul? Isn't it filled with enigmas, dangers, medicinal properties and contradictions? Isn't it the strangest substance, the so-called soul, and isn't it the basis of everything that exists? How does one explain its chemical formula, to which the author so aspired? And what threatens us in the period of its half-decay? The bilious poet with the iodine-yellow face, "hissing with a joke," and a chivalric fidelity to the classical rose smelled its mysterious and dangerous power with his fastidious nostrils before all the Einsteins and IAEAs.

His contemporaries did not overly appreciate him. The avant-gardists considered his poetry "badly rhymed indisposition." The wit Prince Svyatopolk-Mirskiy called him "the favorite poet of all those who don't like poetry." However, the perspicacious lepidopterist Nabokov, who devoted two articles to the poet, describes him as follows in what was, alas, an obituary: "A major poet of our time, a literary descendant of Pushkin in the Tyutchev line, he will remain the pride of Russian poetry as long as the last memory of him remains alive." Gorkiy speaks similarly in a letter to Fedin, who 16 years earlier had characterized Khodasevich as "in my view, the best poet of present-day Russia."

This characterization had not been persuasive at the time--at that time Akhmatova and Tsvetayeva, Pasternak and Bunin, Khlebnikov and Mayakovskiy, Yesenin and Mandelshtam existed. Such statements did not drown out the skepticism of the general chorus. His Petersburg contemporary Gumilev arrogantly pronounced: "He's still just a ballet master," and he added, "but he teaches a holy dance."

Vladislav Khodasevich was born exactly a century ago, in 1886, in Moscow; he started to be published in 1905, also at the same time as Gumilev. The future poet was the sixth child in the relatively poor family of Felitsian Ivanovich Khodasevich, an impoverished member of the gentry and unsuccessful artist, from Poland by birth, who had become a dealer in photographic wares.

Later in a garret in Paris the poet recalled his father with a six-line stanza of his own dactyls:

My father was six-fingered....
A cheerful and poor artist.
He drew a lot of Polish and Russian churches.
We start to play of an evening, sitting down at our favorite divan.
And on my father's hand I diligently bend back
One finger after another--five. And the sixth is me.
There were six children. And really: with hard work he
Fed those five.--Only me he couldn't manage.

From his childhood years throughout his whole life the poet was poor; he worked himself to exhaustion, suffered from loneliness, and was frequently and severely ill. The mentors of his lyre were not just Balmont, Belyy, and Bryusov--the proxy father at his wedding, with whom he had been close since the high-school age of 16--but also the Tula peasant woman Yelena Kuzina.

While attending a festival in West Berlin in September, I went to visit the gloomy blocks, miraculously left standing by the war, where Andrey Belyy, Tsvetayeva and Khodasevich had lived in the '20s. The [Prague Diel] corner cafe, of which they sang, is still standing. I went into the "Pragedielchik." The massive door from the beginning of the century slammed behind me.

It was here that Andrey Belyy would do his mad dances--wearing a black jabot and a yellow rose in his lapel; it was precisely in this cafe that he called Khodasevich's poetry Archimedes's bath, where everything superfluous was crowded out. Yesenin would come up to this bar with [Duncan] after an evening

at the Writers' Club, having returned the monarchists' abuse and received a barrage of applause for the expansive nature of his talent. It was here that Mayakovskiy would sit down to have a rest, having won over the audience at the Russian Student Union, where the former cubofuturist would appear on the stage with the former egofuturist Severyanin and Kusikov. It was here that Aleksey Tolstoy would carouse, drowning out his melancholy with riotous behavior.

I sat down by the window, with my back to the room. The view from the window hadn't changed a bit since those years. The profitable buildings built in the modernist style of the beginning of the century sat gloomily in the fog. The streetcar tracks glistened. At one time Pilnyak's heels had clacked on these sidewalks and the threshold of this cafe. The Berlin of Fedin, Shklovskiy and Remizov looked in the window. In those years the city was a buffer between cultures. In forty Russian-language publishing houses--pro-Soviet, monarchist, Change of Landmarks [Smena vekh]--Bunin, Erenburg, Pasternak and the Serapion Brothers, who had come to Berlin, were published. In a year, more books came out there in Russian than in German. Our country's House of Writers cooperated with the Berlin House of Arts.

The light from rare vehicles beat against the glass. As though the little wings were trembling. It started drizzling. What sort of ghosts were crowding in front of the window?

At this little table a West German collector gave me an unknown photograph of Gumilev, in which Khodasevich's Petersburg contemporary was raising his hand, surrounded by the Nappelbaum sisters, the striped bow of Odoyevtseva, and Georgiy Ivanov.

As is known, Khodasevich did not come here for political motives. "Certain events in my personal life threw me off the track and then brought me here, to Berlin," we read in his autobiography. The poet was attempting by his departure to break out of family fetters. He came here with the 20-year-old poetess Nina Berberova. The memoirs caustically attest: "I was struck by the fact that he was making off on the sly from the woman with whom he had spent all the hard years and called his wife." And here are the gloomy recollections of the editor of a Berlin magazine: "I recall how Vladislav Khodasevich, who had just arrived from Soviet Russia, came to me. He was terribly thin, with an unpleasant face like a bare skull and long hair.... Khodasevich came by often. Once he surprised me greatly by saying: "Only, if you carry reviews of my books, please don't let there be any unpleasant harsh words. After all, I want to go back."

"For a person such as Khodasevich, emigration was a tragedy," writes N. Berberova in introducing his "Selected Works." The tragedy lay not in the difficulties of everyday life, not in the illnesses, which ended in cancer; pain and tragedy of spirit are evident in every line the poet wrote, heart-rendingly filling his classical poetry, which had previously seemed cold.

In his last poems the poet strips from himself not only his jacket and shirt--he strips off his flesh. Following Spengler's "Decline of Europe," he discerned the European night and was horrified. At this time Tyutchevian clouds were gathering with the expectation of war and fascism. In 1939 the

Germans would carry Khodasevich's last wife out of Paris to Germany, where she would die in a concentration camp.

From the viewpoint of the little man, the viewpoint of Pushkin's Yevgeniy, in his best book he judges the abysses of world history, the brass tread of the despot, and the terrible cold of the European night. It is a compilation of sold-chilling, frozen masterpieces.

Tragedy shows through in every quatrain-window, where world-weariness watches the televisions of apartments.

In irony and the black humor of his loneliness, there is something in common with the works that were written in the same years by Zabolotskiy, Kharms and Vvedenskiy.

The similarity to Zabolotskiy is especially apparent; it's no accident that they were both carried away by the muse of Captain Ignat Lebyadkin. I dare say that these are extremely rare examples of pure "surrealism" in our poetry. How new the terms of the new civilization--"Radio," "Electricity," "Pyramidon"--sound in the old stanza form.

Let the characters from Zabolotskiy's "Fokstrot" [Foxtrot] or "Svadba" [Wedding] into this casino, and they will feel themselves at home in his verse.

Khodasevich, like Zabolotskiy, introduces actual surnames into his text: "Ivanov kisses the wench," "The handsome Sokolov walked across the meadow," "Savelyev suddenly dies." For him, "fool" is not a bad name but the designation of a species. But where in Zabolotskiy's poetry there is a crush of color, a turbulent substantiality painted densely, carnally, in rich, Filonov-like oils, in Khodasevich things are scratched with a spiritual etching needle. And the Spirit slips through the cracks. And behind everything tragedy screams. These etchings go beyond the mortal boundary, as they go beyond the boundary of the permitted--so wild is Aida's vision of the old man with his lonely passion in his subterranean toilet:

And from the neighboring kennel
The old woman keeps a watch on him....

Desperate loneliness and the foreboding of even greater loneliness to come cry out. Can it be that the poet here was already visited by the presentiment of the disappearance of humanity as a biological species?

The poet's self-portrait is merciless, tragic and oppressive; the face comes right up to the reader.

Vladislav Khodasevich's style radiates the dryness of the etching needle, the distinctness of details etched by a venomous smile on a copper plate. Objects seem to be encircled by a shining line. His poetic cultivation and taste are sometimes even too irreproachable. Sometimes he hides behind black self-irony, in a skeptic's shell.

"In tragic conversations, I learned to keep quiet and joke." The more tragic the conversations grew to be, the more desperate the jokes became.

Here it is just a step to Glazkov. That's from vulnerability and extreme loneliness. Every poet is always alone, but there has hardly been such a lonely figure in our poetry! The beautiful wives who leave him only emphasized this underlying note. In them there was the luxury of an abandoning life. His first spouse, the 18-year-old beauty and colonel's daughter Marina Ryndina, struck him with the eccentricity of her escapades in the spirit of those years. "She was of exceptional beauty and absolutely shameless; sometimes she would come to a literary gathering and go right up to the table, with some sort of unusual orchids in her arms, throw off her fur coat and sit down to the table naked, well, absolutely bare!" chuckles the previously cited memoirist. Soon Ryndina left the poet, marrying APOLLON editor S. Makovskiy.

What beautiful muses he had!

In Princeton I was transfixed by the panther-like beauty of Nina Berberova, who is a professor there--she is one of the most interesting present-day prose-writers, the last of those who preserves the breathing of Khodasevich.

Few poets embodied Culture in themselves to such an extent. A classicist, when traveling he carried an eight-volume edition of Pushkin with him, the way that some people carry a handful of their native earth. He tapped the "transrationals" [zaumniki] Khlebnikov and Tsvetayeva with his Parnassian cane. Not everyone who frequents the Writers' Bookshop on the Kuznetskiy Bridge recalls that it was founded by Khodasevich and Muratov.

He once exclaimed: "Our poetic past must become our present and, in a new form--the future." His works on Pushkin, "happy" Vyazemskiy, Dmitriyev, Griboyedov and the "Slovo o polku Igoreve" [Tale of Igor's Campaign] are intoxicating. He was a first-rate toiler. His ant-like character showed up here. At the mention of Khodasevich, Academician D. S. Likhachev grew excited: "His magnificent work on Derzhavin must be published." Incidentally, in the current issue of OGONEK he once again repeats that "We should more boldly publish the 20th-century writers whose work for one reason or another is little known, and sometimes completely unknown."

Was he a Pushkinist in essence?

His poetics, his stanza, his beloved iamb--all come from Pushkin. But in terms of world view, the poets were opposites. Pushkin's sunny cosmos--day--was covered by the veil of night. In Khodasevich's poetry, as in Tyutchev's, it's just the opposite: day, like a veil, covers the world night. In that respect they came close to the present knowledge of the black cosmos. The poet rattled about this on his heavy lyre in "Lastochki" [Swallows] and "Imey glaza--skvoz den uvidish noch" [If You Have Eyes, Through the Day You'll See the Night].

How he loved Tyutchev, and how he guarded him against misunderstanding!

"Sometimes people act with barbarous naivete: they simply cross out that which was the real subject of a poem and for which the 'picture of nature' merely served as the outward justification or preparation. Thus, the famous poem "Lyublyu grozu v nachale maya" [I Love a Thunderstorm at the Beginning of May] has consistently been published without the last line," he wrote in 1928. Alas, even now, in 1986, our schoolchildren also study this classic poem in anthologies without the last line!

Sometimes his pince-nez reflected other people's faces and songs.

You say, a tall angel there
Stepped heavily onto the waters--

Here, we hear Tyutchev's intonation.

In a description of a beach, there is a fleeting glimpse of Pasternak:

What a huge wash basin!

But he generously paid his debts posthumously. Lines written by Pasternak before his death contain common motifs!

His culture can also be heard in later poets:

"The blind demon
Waves his wand" (R. Rozhdestvenskiy)

Vladislav Khodasevich was not for me my favorite poet of the age. I bowed to other gods. Many of his poems I understood more with my soul's mind than with its heart. With my heart I committed to memory his "Pered zerkalom" [Before the Mirror] and other poems that are printed in today's selection, but in some poems his stinginess, a certain dryness in his throat, got in my way. However, my poetry shelf would not be complete without his pistachio-colored little volume. There are other opinions, as well. "Akhmatova is monotonous, and so is Blok; Khodasevich is varied, but for me he is an extremely great magnitude, a classic poet and a stricter talent," we read in Gorkiy's letters. For me Blok and Akhmatova are polyphonic epochs. And why use one poet to run down another? But I also understand such a loving viewpoint, especially since it was expressed by the founder of socialist realism.

He and Gorkiy were close. Khodasevich frequently visited him on Capri. In "Sorrentiyskiye fotografii" he describes the motorcycle of Maxim, Gorkiy's son. One senses formic spirits in Khodasevich's memoirs.

"Before sending my memoirs of Valeriy Bryusov to the editors, I read them to Gorkiy. When I finished reading he said, after remaining silent for a while: "You've written cruelly, but splendidly. When I die, please write about me."

Sometimes enmity obscured a poet from him, as in the case of Khlebnikov and, especially, Mayakovskiy, toward whom--both the early and late Mayakovskiy--he was prejudiced. Ten days after Mayakovskiy's death, at the time that

Pasternak, out of his mind, was sobbing on the grave and Tsvetayeva was frozen with grief, he wrote a malicious feuilleton.

He was also strict with the studio members of Proletkult. My long-time Peredelkino neighbor V. V. Kazin, once a proletarian poet, recalled Khodasevich's lectures on Pushkin with reverence. "On the basis of that acquaintance," we read in Khodasevich, "I can attest to a number of first-rate qualities of the Russian worker audience. First of all, to its genuine desire for knowledge and its intellectual honesty....In everything it wanted to get to the "essence."

Alas, the Proletkult vulgarizers grew jealous of Pushkin. And the lectures were ended.

Since the '20s Khodasevich has not been republished in our country. I think that he will be close to the present-day reader by virtue of his poetic culture, his exactingness, and the economical sorcery of his Russian language. How slovenly and nonobligatory today's poetry sometimes is, how little it reflects on the eternal, universal human questions, and how it flits after vanities!

"Culture is preserved not by those who sigh over the past but by those who work for the present and the future"--these words of Khodasevich's could have been spoken today.

It is time to return Khodasevich to our country's culture in a tranquil and scholarly fashion, so that his creative legacy will cease to be a "blank spot" in our poetry of the century that is ending. His volume should occupy a place on readers shelves.

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CULTURE

VOZNESENSKIY ADVOCATES TRADE UNION FOR ROCK MUSICIANS

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 46, Nov 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Andrey Voznesenskiy: "Boris Grebenshchikov's White Nights"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The popular "new wave" composers are an obvious fact of our cultural life. But the talented Leningraders B. Grebenshchikov and V. Reznikov, and the Muscovites I. Nikolayev, Yu. Chernavskiy and A. Makarevich are not members of the Composers' Union. It is simply essential for the young musicians to have their own union, where their works could be discussed and discussions held about their art. What form should such an association take and who will take the initiative to establish it? Perhaps the Melodiya firm?

In publishing Andrey Voznesenskiy's essay we expect that all interested "persons and organizations" will take part in the discussion.

He came to Peredelkino, as always, unexpectedly, following a sudden phone call--handsomely thin, a kind of free rock marksman with a guitar instead of a bow or a crossbow. A jacket used to wandering, a canvas bag, an elongated pale face with the smile of a faun, and low-cut boots that he hurried to take off in order not to track--everything about him indicated an urban Robin Hood.

Making himself at home in the warmth, the nighttime guest told about the recent drowning of Sasha Kussul, a violinist from their Akvarium [Aquarium] group: he had been swimming across the Volga and his strength gave out on the way back.

Before starting to sing, the guest spread out music cases alongside the table settings and put a metal support around his neck to hold a harmonica. He began with "Derevnya" [The Village].

Oh, that music of the countryside, orchestrated in a post-Pink Floyd manner with the croaking of frogs, night sighs and the otherworldly violin of Kussul, where long, drawn-out northern Russian melodies are interwoven with Celtic ones; it is by no means a semilliterate simplistic style "a la Russe" but a new enigma that contains destiny, freedom, soul and its own language--what are you about, eternally eternal and new nature?

"I go to the countryside to be closer to the earth," the guest sings.

I study the properties of the plants and grasses.
I toss the fragrant wild thyme into the fire.
The smoke rises upward. So, I'm right.

The nighttime Peredelkino cosses and lilacs pressed to the glass to hear about themselves.

If it doesn't get dark, to read to You,--
I open the door, and there stands night.

Boris Grebenshchikov's voice is high and strange, with an unreal reflection, like a white night. The culture of the Northern Palmira stands behind it.

We are caught up by the very same
Timid fidelity to mystery.
Like Petersburg, spread out in panorama
Beyond the boundless Neva.

When, closing his eyes, he turns toward the window in profile, his blond hair, caught up behind with a ribbon in order to stay out of his way, looks like a plait from the time of Paul I.

In contrast to "hard rock" and "heavy metal," the author is careful with his words; he follows not just the school of the ironists Zabolotskiy and Kharms, but the free word of Gumilev.

Through the plastic and tin
Ivan Bodkhidkharma is inclined to see trees
Where we're inclined to see poles.

Evidently we have here the irony and plastic montage of the tradition of Zabolotskiy in the music of the times. After I told him that his early "ironisms" recalled Zabolotskiy's "Stolbtsy" [Columns], Boris rushed to read Zabolotskiy and was himself struck by the similarity of style. It turns out that he knew Kharms but hadn't read Zabolotskiy before, but he wrote in a similar fashion--a second birth of Zabolotskiy's view is presently taking place in the "new wave" of poets. One can detect the same note in the merry happening shows that are staged by the new Moscow Young Poetry Club nowadays, and in the complex and grotesque style of the poetry of Iskrenko, Arabov, Kutik and other of its poets.

Grebenshchikov is now 33. It is customary to think of that as the age of Christ and Ilya Muromets, the age of mental accomplishments. He graduated from the mathematics division at Leningrad State University and worked as a computer programmer, confirming in practice the Petersburg poet's thesis that one must believe the mathematician more than the mystic. He is distinguished by a refined professionalism, artistry and genuine knowledge of the classics. While still a student, breaking away from the Beatles, he founded the group Akvarium, which is probably the most noncommercial of our rock groups. It is popular. People who do not know its audience imagine it to be a collection of

morally depraved people and hysterics. Yet these are serious experts. As today's leader of the "cassette culture" (such a semi-ironic term does exist), it receives letters from thousands--students, young soldiers and officers, taiga dwellers. Music united people and peoples.

When Bob Dylan came to visit us, I didn't manage to get them together, but I think that the overseas idol would find the Russian melodies of his contemporary Leningrader to his liking. On the other hand, he and Allen Ginsberg played with interest for one another within our wooden walls. And yesterday an artist of an entirely different generation, suntanned and white as snow, in a crimson tie, Alberto Moravia, not understanding Russian but understanding something higher that music and time provide, tapped his fingers on the table to the beat of Grebenshchikov's nostalgic song and looked longingly out the darkening autumn window: "I go to the countryside to be closer to nature."

The Italy-USSR Society has now invited Akvarium to give a concert in Rome in honor of the society's anniversary. They want to hear our new rhythms, our young people.

"Dry," to the accompaniment of the guitar and harmonica, he sings his song "Glaz" [Eye], which of course loses something without the orchestration of the horns, but gains in sincerity:

In our place there should be a star.
You feel a draft because this place is free.

Listening to my nighttime guest, who is seeking his own ways, in his "Deti dekabrya" [Children of December] and "Nebo" [Sky] I try to understand the enigmatic and ironic breed about which people have querulously lied so much, seeing in them only barbarism, shoving them away from culture, labeling them with egocentrism and infantilism. But they are the ones, the young firemen of Chernobyl, who stepped into the fire without protective suits and saved Kiev and you and me; they are the ones, Grebenshchikov's audience, the 20-year-old border guards, who pulled dozens of drowning people from the Nakhimov. And conversely, while working on my narrative poem "Rov" [The Ditch], I studied materials on the crimes of the gravediggers who dug up the graves of 12,000 of our people who had been destroyed by Hitler's genocide. They stole valuables off the skeletons. I want to repeat that among these criminal men there were no young people. And the readers' letters, the "responses to responses" that were published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA include especially indignant and pure letters from young people. Notebooks containing agitated school compositions on that topic were sent from Novosibirsk. Let us believe them, and their complex inner world. Let them play and listen to what they like. Let's attend in a kinder fashion to their tastes.

Music for them is not only their chief diversion, it is a means of association in a broken life. Today's children can distinguish the groups Zoo, Bravo, Kino, Rolling Stones and Cocteau's Twins without hesitation, the same way children of their great grandfathers' generation could tell the paint of the Iroquois from that of the Mohicans from reading Fenimore Cooper and Mayne Reid.

A kind of collective musical consciousness is being born, and millions of the country's tape recorders are merging into a kind of spiritual industry; millions of souls respond to the cassette selector. This is a phenomenon. Or is it true that what is happening is the creation of a "rock folklore" of the youth nation of the age of the scientific and technological revolution?

The path to the Composers' Union is complicated and takes many years. "New wave" youth music needs its own "veche," its own creative association.

Present-day musical apparatus, which has been assimilated by the masses, is no more complex for the children of the computer age than the accordion, invented during the last century, was for its time.

In the case of Grebenshchikov, this new stage of "oral folk art" is complex and subtle in taste. A genuine master is always educated. Say, the seeming vulgarity of Vysotskiy was deceptive--he read and respected Balmont, Tsvetayeva and the present-day masters. The new musical culture, battling to break its way through, stands in opposition both to the hard-of-hearing conservatives and to the sea of mechanical pop hackwork.

The new phenomenon is not to everyone's taste. There are some things that have still not been thought through. That's as it should be.

Suddenly, finishing a song, he says quietly, reflecting: now there is something higher that unites musicians, poets and artists, something higher that unites various generations of creators and doesn't oppose them to one another. He has in mind the community of the spirit.

Departing, shyly stooping, Boris gave me his prose novella, which goes back to the depths of Russian folk tales and "nonsense."

The new time works for new songs.

Grebenshchikov has written more than 200 songs. Ten thematic albums have been made from them. This year the Melodiya firm is finally issuing his first record. He came before the artistic council with his hair cut short, in order not to spoil it, but it gave his look breeze and newness.

The last recordings of the violin of Aleksandr Kussul will be heard on this record. It's too bad that he won't be able to hear them.

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CULTURE

INTERVIEW COUNTERS WESTERN VIEW OF USSR ROCK GROUPS

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian 23-29 Dec 86 p 7

[Interview with [Kor Shlosser], president of the Pop Music Movement of the Netherlands organization, and [Jan van Boysik], the organization's commercial director, conducted by the journalist M. Sigalov: "When Prejudices Dissolve"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Western press and the "radio voices" have been devoting increased attention to Soviet popular music, especially to its most contradictory and, therefore, most vulnerable genre--rock music. Therefore it seemed to us interesting to find out the opinion of Soviet rock music that was held by guests of our country who are people professionally involved in it. [Kor Shlosser], president of the music organization Pop Music Movement of the Netherlands, and its commercial director [Jan van Boysik] recently visited our country at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Culture. The journalist M. Sigalov talked with them.

[Question] Did you know something about Soviet rock music before your trip to our country?

[Answer] To be honest, we didn't know but had heard a great deal, but it was extremely general, and today we can say--practically all made up. After all, the information that we got from the British newspaper THE OBSERVER and the American music monthly ROCK MAGAZINE painted the following pictures for us: rock in your country was forbidden and one could end up in prison for performing it; at best, several existing groups in your country all sang the praises of the homeland and the party, and it was supposedly impossible to sing about anything else.

This was the sort of information we read in many publications. And although our friend, the music scholar [Jan van Tinen], who visited your country several years ago talked about the absurdity of such rumors, we admit that we came with certain prejudices.

[Question] And what happened in reality?

[Answer] In the Netherlands we were told that we would be taken on a tour of the Kremlin, the Pushkin Museum and the Hermitage and then, maybe, shown one

rock group, which "exists only for foreign guests." But during our very first meeting with officials of the Ministry of Culture we were invited not to watch special performances of Soviet groups but to attend ordinary concerts. Of course, we agreed. As a result we saw Avtograf [Autograph], Dialog and Forum. We were guests of the Melodiya firm: we listened to recordings of the Rock Panorama-86 festival that had recently been held in Moscow, and we received several records as gifts. At a television studio we became acquainted with the program of a concert by your musicians for the Chernobyl fund Account No. 904 that had been prepared for broadcast, and with a video tape of Aleksey Rybnikov's opera "Yunona" and "Avos" [Perchance]. And we gradually began to understand all the erroneousness of the opinions of Soviet music in Western propaganda.

Let's be frank--not all groups are equally skilled, but on the whole one may say that your rock music is an interesting and unique phenomenon. Moreover, the principles employed by Soviet musicians are similar to those of strong rock musicians throughout the world--the reflection in their music of the times and its problems, and the striving, sometimes maximilistic, of young people for truth and sincere human relations. And the sense of empathy with other people's pain and other people's misfortune. In general, a heightened sense of justice in everything.

It is customary for musicians in the Soviet union to boldly combine the present-day means of expression that are characteristic of rock everywhere with national features and unique elements of your culture. We have in mind both the folk elements that are often very vividly apparent and references to famous poetry, as in the case of the group Dialog, for example.

[Question] And what did you find most memorable?

[Answer] In Leningrad we were introduced to the activities of the local rock club. We were surprised by the fact that state organizations assist in the development of amateur rock music without pursuing any commercial goals and only, to the contrary, invest money for the purchase of equipment and outfits and the payment for professional recordings to be used in further work with the mass media. And what effort it takes to organize concerts by relatively unknown groups! We met musicians from the groups Vystavka [Exhibition] and Tamburin [Tambourine]--they didn't give the impression of people who had been "driven into a corner, into the underground." In Leningrad we were told that several recent participants in the rock club are appearing on the professional stage today, and that the groups in this amateur organization have been given the opportunity to rehearse in the best Leningrad halls. We admit that we didn't believe this and decided to conduct a personal "inspection." As a result, we laughed at our own mistrust. Recordings of several local television programs on which amateur rock groups had performed on an equal footing with well-established professionals were another argument by our Leningrad hosts.

[Question] And is such a thing possible in the Netherlands?

[Answer] First of all one must say that a lot of rock music, especially American, is heard in our country. But it's very difficult for relatively

unknown groups to make it. For example, no one simply provides rehearsal space for a relatively unknown group. No one provides good halls for concerts--they have to be paid for. No one provides the opportunity to make professional recordings simply out of a desire to support new talent--except, perhaps, our studio. The major record firms' policies are oriented toward the familiar names, the stars. Therefore it is very difficult for a novice to make it, especially if he has fresh musical ideas in addition to a new name. And especially if those ideas are not just purely musical but also social. Moreover, the major part of the record business in the Netherlands is controlled by affiliates of Anglo-American firms, and they also supply performers for television. Therefore, many musicians adhere to standardized music and the English language. Our organization endeavors to support those who go "against the current," but, to be self-critical, that doesn't always succeed.

[Question] To be self-critical, one must say that many of our problems connected with the search for new talented performers and the recording and performance of groups that enjoy deserved success among young people have not yet been solved, either. I realize that you have seen a lot that you in no way expected to see. But believe me, we still have plenty of problems in this business.

Tell us, do you have any plans related to Soviet rock music?

[Answer] They are modest, but we have some. Thanks to the recordings and records we received, we are planning to prepare several programs for radio and to interest television in the possibility of conducting a musical television bridge. And, possibly, to invite some Soviet group to appear at the [Melkveg] music center in Amsterdam. And we already have the dream of returning to the Soviet Union with a Dutch group and giving a concert together with our Moscow colleagues.

When we met in Moscow with Avtograf, its leader A. Sitkovetskiy told us about the group's performance in Copenhagen. And we are thinking now that if there were more such meetings no one would believe the rumors with which we were stuffed prior to this trip.

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CULTURE

GREBENSHCHIKOV DISCUSSES POPULARITY OF ROCK MUSIC

Leningrad VECHERNIY LENINGRAD in Russian 15 Nov 86 p 3

[Report on an interview with Boris Grebenshchikov by staff correspondent Ye. Godunova: "Let's See How the Day Looks"; interview conducted in Leningrad, date not specified; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] You're conducting an experiment. You ask your acquaintances (age, education and nature of employment are irrelevant): "Who is Boris Grebenshchikov?" At least half of them answer: "Leader of the group Akvarium, a musician and poet."

Akvarium has already existed 14 years with practically no changes in its makeup. Now it includes, in addition to Boris Grebenshchikov, Aleksandr Lyapin (guitar), Aleksandr Titov (bass guitar), Andrey Romanov (piano, flute), Mikhail Vasilyev (keyboard, percussion), Vsevolod Gakkel (cello), and Petr Troshchenko (percussion). The group belongs to the Leningrad Rock Club and has the status of an amateur association, but its songs, in the opinion of professional composers, can in no way be called dilettantish. Lately Akvarium has been receiving increasingly wide recognition not only among Leningrad admirers of contemporary music, but on the scale of the country as a whole. A giant record has been recorded at the Melodiya firm that includes songs from the group's last two programs: "Deti dekabrya" [Children of December] and "Den serebra" [Day of Silver]. The group is presently appearing at the Yubileyny Palace of Sports with a program entitled "Dvizheniye v storonu vesny" [Movement Toward Spring]. Our correspondent Ye. Godunova met with Boris Grebenshchikov.

A rehearsal was under way at the Yubileyny. The group Akvarium was repeating its program before presenting it to the artistic council. The commotion that characterizes such occasions reigned in both the auditorium and on the stage. The musicians were nervous because the equipment, as always happens, "was good for nothing." Something was constantly shutting off, the microphones were picking up background noise, and the sound engineer was running back and forth from the controls to the stage.

I, however, was sitting quietly on the side and patiently waiting for the group's leader Boris Grebenshchikov to find a minute to answer my questions.

These "minutes" came up infrequently and were too short, so our interview proceeded by fits and starts. Nonetheless, a fairly coherent picture took shape from Boris's answers and his songs, which we heard despite the imperfections of the equipment.

[Godunova] Not so long ago, answering the questioners of listeners and viewers, you said: "Culture is one; it is united." At the same time, you justify your choice of stage appearance on the grounds that a rock culture exists that dictates its own laws. Isn't there a paradox in that?

[Grebenshchikov] Of course there is. At first glance. Any truth is paradoxical at first approach. But what is culture, in the final analysis? The ethical and aesthetic baggage of humanity, in which a humanistic principle is invariably present. Rock culture is part of universal human culture. But like any new branch it has its own uniform: style, musical structure, lexicon.

[Godunova] "Art is an aristocratic occupation," a classic said, meaning that by engaging in art "for his daily bread," the artist risks losing his sincerity. It's not hard to be persuaded that this problem is still timely if you compare just our professional stage with that which it's customary to call "amateur music." But, to judge from the Leningrad Rock Club, the urge to achieve success at any price, to the detriment of sincerity, is also beginning to infect amateur groups, as well. How can you explain this?

[Grebenshchikov] That's an interesting question. The point, probably, is that as soon as a person has any incentives besides the joy of creativity, sincerity gives way to pretentious significance and the desire to "wind up" the audience as much as possible. Everything passes through that. It is important to stand firm and not give in to temptation. Music, the soul, art-- they should not be sold.

[Godunova] Can't general acclaim, glory, success and sincerity coexist on the stage?

[Grebenshchikov] I think they can. In any case, one must strive for this. For me, our growing popularity gives rise to a healthy desire to fight against the influence of mass taste. There are topics that the public cannot dictate or order. They are dictated by the times and by themselves. I am trying to understand how people can live on earth in love and joy.

[Godunova] Is it possible that joy is a permanent state of the soul?

[Grebenshchikov] Of course. At the same time, it may be inseparable from sadness. I think that it's time for man to make peace with what lives on the earth besides us. It makes no sense to oppose man to nature, because that leads to disharmony. It seems to me that at present nature itself is trying to somehow establish a balance between itself and man. We must learn in a natural way to live naturally. And naturalness and honesty are very close concepts.

[Godunova] Poetry cannot be forced into the rigid framework of a "creative creed." The real world is complex and multifaceted, and the world of the poet is no poorer: "He is the window in which the world is beautiful, and who here is the world, and who here is the window?" But in art studies there is a concept known as hermetism. It means the closed nature of creativity, whereby the works of a given artist are fully comprehensible only to a narrow circle of the initiated. Can one say this of your poetry?

[Grebenshchikov] I think that any art is to a certain degree hermetic. That's inevitable. When everything is understandable at once and everything's on the surface, that's not art.

[Godunova] One can understand what there is in Akvarium that attracts people who already are relatively formed. But how do you explain such popularity among teenagers?

[Grebenshchikov] It's hard for me to judge. Maybe they are won over by our honesty. Maybe it's the brightness there is in our songs. But I am glad, in general, that, despite the so-called incomprehensibility, we're interesting to 14-year-olds, as well. There's hope that in attempting to understand our songs they will come to feel a taste for reflection. After all, the decline in the level of culture is the result of a consumerist attitude toward art. People are accustomed to perceiving art as entertainment. This process has been under way for a long time now, and there are many reasons for it. It's an international phenomenon. If what we are doing brings any fruits at all and we remain ourselves in the process, that's great.

[Godunova] With regard to the bright principle in your art. Many listeners, to the contrary, attribute a gloomy, pessimistic attitude toward life to you.

[Grebenshchikov] I'm an optimist. Complete darkness does not exist in nature. There is light and the insufficiency of it.

The members of the artistic council were already taking their seats in the hall. There was time left for just one question.

[Godunova] All the same, why "rock-and-roll is dead, but I'm not yet."

[Grebenshchikov] That's so the listener won't get bored without paradoxes. After all, the song is written in the rock-and-roll rhythm. But seriously, in a person's life the moment suddenly comes when that which one has previously lived for turns out to be not enough. At the age of 19, there is a whole world in rock, but at 30 that's not enough. A well-known musician said: "I'm too old for rock-and-roll and too young to die." That's a tragedy. And one must try to find a way out.

Did we succeed in this brief interview in revealing the phenomenon of Akvarium, which exists whether we like it or not? It is a fairly complex phenomenon, if only because Akvarium has long since outgrown pop music. Of its kind, it is unique.

And in conclusion, another quotation from Boris Grebenshchikov:

How strange it is, what I'm trying to do:
Create from desire, the semblance of love.

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CULTURE

IZVESTIYA URGES MEASURES TO CONTROL STOLEN ICON MARKET

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 87 p 6

[Article by M. Khazin, senior justice counselor: "A Crowbar, Fretsaw and an 'Orient'"]

[Text] The fine May morning brought no joy to the residents of the village of Fentisovo in Kursk Oblast: the Church of Dmitriy Solunskiy had been robbed in the night. Some time later the same distressing event befell the inhabitants of the village of Verkhneye Myachkovo in Moscow Oblast: besides icons, an ancient tabernacle of solid silver shaped as a five-cupola'd place of worship with embossed representations was taken from the Church of the Nativity of Our Lady. The Old Belief Church in Ryazan and the Armenian Apostolic Church in Moscow had been broken into. The range of the barbarous incursions spread little by little--it reached Siberia and Kazakhstan in the east, Moldavia in the west, Lithuania and Latvia in the northwest....

A fog might have been allowed, as determined, to descend here: the night thieves operated, it is said, so subtly and efficiently that they left no criminal traces--the detectives had nothing to go on, although they were run off their feet in the search.... But this would have been contrary to life's truth: eloquent pieces of evidence remained everywhere: metal filings, fingerprints and even footprints. Only there was no one to apply them. Because the local Pinkertons were in not that great a hurry. It was even decided not to institute criminal proceedings in respect of an instance of robbery of the church in the village of Roshcha of Kaluga Oblast--back in 1979, if you can believe it--the loss (we will have more to say on this score) not being considered worthy of attention. And, furthermore, it was immediately clear that the entire "professional expertise" of the robbers amounted to the use of simple accessories (also used extensively in house chores, incidentally)--a fretsaw and a crowbar.... Nor were the robbers some particularly dangerous recidivists with densely tattooed fingers. They were Andrey Gorsky, a student who had not completed his studies and who was 5 minutes shy of being an engineer; workroom cutter Anatoliy Savelyev; baths masseurs Yevgeniy Korostelev and Mikhail Fridman and his wife, Yelena Ikonnikova, whom he loved desperately not only as his life's companion but also as the possessor of a magnificent name. In a word, nothing ominous. If, of course, we disregard the fact that they had under their belts years of criminal trips, dozens of thefts

and other dirty tricks and thousands of kilometers in six union republics and dozens of oblasts.

Experts estimated (very provisionally) the value of what had been stolen at hundreds of thousands of rubles.

I wrote all this and thought: had the same "magnificent five" taken it into their heads to rob, say, consumer cooperative stores in the countryside, would they have gotten away with it so many times? And answered my own question: never in this world! Because everywhere there are alarm systems, in some places security guards, and in yet other places, both. Those who break into stores are sought more diligently than those who break into churches.

Once the alarm system somehow went off as a place of worship was being broken into. This saved the ancient Pochayev Mother of God icon, which had been picked out in advance by the criminals. But, alas, an isolated instance (alarm systems have not been installed for religious objects, as a rule). And it was not fortuitous that the chain of criminal events, having begun in 1979, culminated, finally, in sentencing only in the summer of 1986.

There is every reason, it might have seemed, to provide a repository of important valuables with effective protection. Not a bit of it! There are either no guards at all, or they are purely symbolic.

Our robbers had learned about the presence of such a guard in a Kaluga church during preliminary reconnaissance. Ikonnikova even made contact with the latter, passing herself off as a devout believer. And in the evening she knocked at the door of God's church: "I have brought you some sausages." Her husband entered the church behind her--grabbed the guard, a little old woman, by the arm--while Gorskiy tied her up as quick as lightning by a method which had been practiced in advance.

You may object: why compare the protection of churches and state facilities and those same stores? On the one hand, public property, socialist ownership, on the other, repositories of "opium for the people"?

But we forget for some reason or other that each church is a unique repository of material and cultural values.

Thieves have succeeded, let us assume (it happens, unfortunately) in turning off the alarm system, getting the security man drunk and robbing a hardware warehouse. In one day a stocktaking determines how much of what has been stolen: 7 boxes of locks, 4 boxes of nails, 2 baskets of door handles and so forth. List of merchandise is such and such, price, such and such. But when a church has been robbed, the guessing starts: what precisely has been stolen? And what are these things worth? Stocktakings are made (if they are made at all) in the most primitive fashion, without the participation of art historians or museum officials. What has been stolen is more often than not not found, and a belated and, moreover, in absentia and, I would even say, posthumous evaluation begins. Do you know how the value of a stolen icon is determined? By area. Like parquet flooring. It is just that the appraisals are different: 10 kopecks per square centimeter.... Somewhat more for a

multifigure icon (and there is no arguing: after all, if something is not there, it cannot be determined whether it is an artistic masterpiece or mass produced). But are icons sold at overseas auctions at these prices?

I believe that the USSR Ministry of Culture and its authorities locally need to immediately and fittingly evaluate and register what has not yet been stolen and is in storage. After all, we can now only guess at precisely what pearls of antique painting and what rarities have been made off with and sold by embezzlers to buyers known only to them. In any event, this can only be judged, as a rule, by things which had spent time in thieves' hands, but which have miraculously survived.

Thieves once got into a cemetery church and picked up icons and crosses and also took a copy of the Gospels. They examined the haul in the car. They either did not look at the book or something frightened them--I do not know. In a word, they threw the book onto the roadside. A week later a passerby picked it up and took it to the police. Experts valued this "patronal gospel in a silver embossed setting with five enameled overlays" at R41,670. I believe that the art historians may have valued it even higher had they proceeded not only from... the weight of the silver. Incidentally, the church warden himself did not suspect with what a valuable he had been entrusted. But how would we have learned about it had the thieves not made their hasty feeble-minded decision? Do you think a solvent purchaser would not have been found?

The question is: where was the rich plunder disposed of? It was sold, as the sentence said, "to persons unknown". Tracing the individual fate of the majority of items was not, unfortunately, successful. They had vanished....

But let us trace in our minds the movements around Moscow of one most debonair young man, who had just driven his Zhiguli into a driveway on Lesnaya Street. Waiting for him there was a friend, who, having received the appropriate instructions, got into the car, while the owner of the Zhiguli left by taxi. Awaiting him at the prearranged spot was another car, with a foreign numberplate, in which he returned to Lesnaya. And here he got out, bending under the weight of a heavy bag, dived into his car and suddenly noticed that he was being followed (not mentally, like us, but really) and sped off, but after a dizzying chase, almost like in the movies, was arrested by officers of the capital's Leninskiy Rayon Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Profiteering. At the police station the bag was unpacked: it contained several hundred elegant 'Orient' watches with straps. Had it not been for the thing with the police, Vladimir Svintkovskiy would have sold all these watches for approximately R100,000. Such were his prices. He himself, incidentally, did not wear such cheap stuff and was very indignant that he was not allowed to take into the prison cell the Rolex solid gold watch, heavy gold chain with medallion and gold ring with stone resembling miniature brass knuckles. Incidentally, to whoever the comparison of a ring with brass knuckles would seem to be stretching the point I can report that he had on his person a real weapon--a factory-made American telescopic bludgeon (!) and a tear gas canister.

He had no crosses, it is true. But a multitude of crosses, icons and other church plate were found in his parents' apartment, at the home of a female acquaintance, in the car and even in the garage. I shall quote just a few paragraphs from the description drawn up by experts.

"Cross with crucifix, metal, cast, engraved on an antique cross. Metal crucifix against a background covered by a filigree black hair dye with a tricolor enamel. Metal crucifix, 16th century, black hair dye with enamel, 18th century.... R,3000, museum value."

"'Holy Great Martyr Catherine,' wood, tempera, painting of the 17-18th century, halo of four-color enamel, three red oval stones in the halo.... Value of the icon NOT COUNTING THE STONES (my emphasis--M.Kh.), R6,000. Museum value."

"Cross with crucifix of silver on a silver chain of 120 cm. R6,000. Museum value."

He even had in his possession an icon of V. Vasnetsov!

The possessor of the incalculable property himself (for space's sake I have not listed all the property confiscated from him) forced out without the aid of gas abundant tears: he had allegedly been the victim of a frame, and the police had planted the bludgeon and the grip containing the watches. He spewed out complaints with this story by the dozen, accompanying them with statements which were to have confirmed that here was a schizophrenic of the first water! Of course, he calls himself a brilliant artist and intends in the very near future to shake the world, but the intrigues of ideological and artistic enemies are preventing him completing some invisible sculpture. He had, it turned out, prepared himself for this story in good time: he was found to have a whole file containing extracts from psychiatry books.

Incidentally, in the courtroom Svintkovskiy deemed it prudent to no longer mention his brilliance. He yielded other positions also, telling the judges the following story. He has an exotic friend--Ali. From which foreign country he comes, he does not know, nor where he lives and what he does. It was this same Ali who allegedly asked him to hand the bag packed "with watches" to a mysterious stranger, promising for this a trifling little souvenir: a Japanese VCR. Touching, is it not? To the question of where he had come by so many valuables Svintkovskiy humbly confessed that he had grown up in the well-to-do family of his lawyer father and had become an aesthete and, accordingly, a collector--he had acquired everything honestly from all kinds of strangers (while having an architect's degree, incidentally, he worked as a petty supplier for R90 a month).

But what has all this to do with the robbery of churches? There is, alas, a direct connection. And an indirect one also. Svintkovskiy was a friend of our friend Fridman. It was he who had gotten into the car and provided security for the watch delivery operation.

Now, I hope, it is understood what kind of customers for the stolen goods the church robbers had. The more so in that it was reliably determined that Svintkovskiy settled with his foreign agents precisely in icons....

The passion for collecting antiques has taken hold of many people in recent years. The boom, as it were, has led to a pronounced decline in the qualitative composition of the collectors. There are many indiscriminating people among them--not only in the sense that they frequently acquire for large sums "firewood" but also in the sense that some "collectors" simply investing in artistic rarities their spare cash (of highly nebulous origin at times) have absolutely no interest in the origin of the purchase. Should they merely guess--silence. And this consumer demand is, in turn, engendering mass supply, about which we already know more than we would like.

Unfortunately, there is no kind of legal bar to such a strange state of affairs. Currently the owner of an object even of unique historical and artistic value--a picture, icon, sculpture, antique jewelry, porcelain--need not have any papers concerning its origin. He has made the purchase, and that is that. It was a gift, so leave off with your questioning. In the end I won at cards, you cannot lay a finger on me.

Against this background the requirement that one have official papers concerning the origins of a car out of those which are manufactured in the millions and which are increasingly accessible with every passing day appears simply paradoxical. Perhaps it would be more logical were things to be the other way about? The establishment of such a procedure would in no way harm the conscientious genuine collectors. Rather, the contrary. Furthermore, it should be remembered that in the event of stolen property being discovered on anyone, even if he is a most honest person who has simply been patently cheated by the seller, who passed off the stolen goods as grandmother's legacy, the purchase is confiscated without compensation. So would it not be simpler and surer to regulate relations concerning collectibles by legal provisions.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

VAYNO VISITS 'ILLEGAL' VIDEO SALON

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Gusakov: "Unfamiliar, but Tasty and Comfortable"]

[Text]--Tallin--In an article entitled "Meat Pies: Selling Like Hot Cakes" (IZVESTIYA No 241, 1986) we described the first steps toward a brigade contract system for public eating establishments in Tallinn. You will recall that in a very short period of time, a mediocre public eating place became a favorite spot of the city's population. Seventeen enthusiastic participants in this new endeavor serve the customers juicy "pockets full of meat" and other tasty dishes to the tune of 18,000 rubles a month and more. The greater portion of the money [thus earned] goes for rent, taxes, ingredients and other production costs. Approximately 3,000 rubles is the brigade's income, which is distributed on the basis of each member's qualifications and work he contributed.

Several months have passed. Have the enthusiast members of this self-supporting enterprise become disillusioned? "Of course not," the brigade chief, Viktor Ivanovich Rodin, told me a few days ago. "It is great to feel that you are truly the proprietor of your own business, fully responsible for everything."

One after the other, four more Tallin public eating establishments have converted to brigade contracts and a number of others are preparing to do so. According to the experts' calculation, in time something over 50 small cafes, bars, and snack bars can successfully be converted to this new labor organization. In spite of a large number of prohibitions and restrictions, the trail was blazed for the institution and establishment of self-supporting public eating establishments operating on labor contracts by the domestic services sector, which for a number of years has been experimenting with work on a contract basis, so that today in our republic more than 1,600 workers of the Ministry of Domestic Services are working on contract. But even today, we are a long way from having solved all the problems associated with the introduction of labor agreements and contracts in the area of domestic and public food services. Moreover, new unforeseen problems are arising in the course of operating the establishments. I learned of one of these problems, for example, when I visited the "Pelgulinn" snack bar one evening. The

Valeriy Baldin contract brigade which works here has selected chicken, in almost every conceivable form, as its specialty. And judging by the influx of customers during the day they have chosen very well -- the people of Tallin come here from all parts of the city. In addition, the snack bar itself is very comfortable and is decorated and furnished in good taste.

But in the evenings, which is the time we happened to drop in on "Pelgulinn" in the company of A. Yefremov, who heads the department of labor and wages of the city's public eating agency, approximately two thirds of the seats are empty.

"It's boring here in the evenings and so people don't come," said the woman behind the counter, Nina Sapotskaya. "Young people want some kind of entertainment, some sort of cultural program, at the very least a television, video tape machine, or something of the sort."

"Nothing of the sort is provided for a category two eating establishment such as "Pelgulinn," explained A. Yefremov.

Once again let us consider the experience gained in the area of domestic services, where the trail to this new business management system was blazed through a thicket of departmental prohibitions, thanks to the fact that the right to conduct an experiment had been granted. In Pyarna, two young families, Elmar and Virve Lepp, workers in the rayon agro-industrial association, and Enn Kalyumyae, an employee of the "Dynamo" sports association and his wife, Yulle Kalyumyae, a bookkeeper for the city board of trade, opened a family videosalon on the basis of a so-called No. 2 contract with the city board of domestic services. In literally a month, they repaired an old unused building on the city beach, used their own money to buy a videotape machine, two television sets, tables, chairs, a radiator, and other equipment, and, lately in addition, flowers every day for each of the eight tables.

Why their own money? Because, these white, elegant tables with their four comfortable chairs could be bought for ready money in the store in a single day without any hassle. But it would have taken 2 or 3 years to procure them through official channels, according to the head of the city domestic services administration, Yuriy Pensel who was present at my conversation with the brigade.

Their contract stipulates that each month the brigade must pay the Pyarna domestic services board 2,200 rubles. From this sum, the brigade retains 110 rubles to amortize the video technology it bought, 280 rubles for repairing its equipment and acquiring videocassettes, and 150 rubles for flowers; the remaining 1,350 rubles is handed over to the board. Rent and electricity must be paid out of earnings over and above the 2,200 rubles. Over the last three months, the average earnings of a brigade member were 150-180 rubles.

These kids -- the ages of the four of them together add up to scarcely more than 100 years -- created the facility with ingenuity and imagination, and families on holiday fill the place. From 19:00 to 20:00 they show cartoons with a fifty kopecks admission charge, and from 20:00 to 24:00 they have a concert program for two rubles a person.

But how could the customers get along without coffee, soft drinks, and juice? So the proprietors buy it, brew it and serve it at the tables. They have even figured out how to concoct funny little roosters, bunnies, and mushrooms out of dough, sugar and chocolate. They showed these to us, but, for the time being, are not offering them to their customers. They have refrained because they have been inundated by commissions. In just a few months, they've been visited by commissions from the Ministry of Culture, and the State Cinematography Committee [Goskino], the sanitation people and financial agencies, and who knows who else has been around in the last few months, officials with positions and from organizations that these young people had never even heard of before. And all these visitors suspected them of everything: of inability to make coffee and bake cookies in the shape of bunnies, of selecting video cassettes with "alien" subject matter, and, naturally, of earning and concealing enormous sums. And when they were unable to find anything of the kind, they were surprised but they nevertheless still recommended that the business be closed.

"We'll put you all in prison," announced the chairman of the ESSR Goskino, Raymund Penu, who was visiting the city of Pyarna, from the doorway.

"Why?" exclaimed Yulle Kalyumyae, from behind the counter.

"Because its illegal."

Nonetheless, of course, nobody went to prison and the video salon wasn't even closed. And not long ago it was visited by the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, K. Vayno, who was shown the thick album, filled to the brim with words of appreciation from customers.

"As we continue the experiment," Marina Anslan, deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, told me, "wherever possible, we will try to lift existing prohibitions, which hinder the successful establishment of the brigade contract and contract forms of work. I think, that the most important thing is that people begin to search, to think, and to work. That they believe that their efforts are not lost like water in the sand. And then, if necessary, it will not be difficult to make a few corrections. After all, this is a new undertaking -- we can't foresee and provide for every eventuality at the outset."

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CSO 1800/235

REGIONAL ISSUES

U.S.- USSR ECOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT EXTENDED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by A. Blinov, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Jointly Protecting Nature"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text]--Washington--The exchange of experience in protecting the drainage areas of Lake Baykal and Lake Michigan against pollution, and the development of the most effective methods of guaranteeing the purity of the water in those very large lakes, constitute one of the projects for joint Soviet-American cooperation that were discussed here at a session of a joint Soviet-American commission for cooperation in the field of environmental protection.

Soviet-American cooperation in environmental protection, which cooperation is being carried out on the basis of a 23 May 1972 agreement, currently includes 38 projects. They include measures to prevent the pollution of the air and water environments, to improve the environment in the cities, to protect rare and endangered species of animal and vegetable life, joint experimental work in observing climatic changes, and the prediction of earthquakes.

At a session of the commission, a decision was adopted to extend the 23 May 1972 agreement for an additional five-year period. At a press conference in Washington the co-chairmen of the joint commission -- the heads of the Soviet and American delegations -- characterized as follows the results of the session that had been held.

Yu. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control:

"Our cooperation in protecting the environment, which cooperation has lasted almost one and a half decades, is mutually advantageous. It is distinguished by an allroundedness and a broad range -- from the study of fundamental questions of the interaction between man and nature, to the development and carrying out of specific measures to protect the animal and vegetable kingdoms and to prevent the pollution of the environment. On the Soviet side, 28 departments and scientific institutions are involved in this cooperation.

"As neighbors, we are carrying out such important measures as joint expeditions to study the problems of the pollution of Bering Sea, which washes

the shores of both our countries and are beginning the work of studying the problems of polluting the Arctic air basin. The cooperation in studying the problems of environmental protection on a global scale has also been growing."

L. Thomas, director of the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency:

"In addition to the words of my Soviet colleague I would like to note the new understandings with regard to the cooperation among scientists in protecting the environment along the seacoast. In my opinion, an important role must be played by the exchange of experience in protecting the drainage areas of Lakes Baykal and Michigan. Also of noticeable interest are the joint efforts in protecting a number of endangered and rare animals, as well as a new expedition of American and Soviet scientists to study the interaction of the atmosphere and the ocean in the western part of the Pacific Ocean. The American side is pleased with the way that the joint cooperation has been developing."

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REGIONAL ISSUES

TAIGA NATURAL RESOURCE MISUSE VIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by Yu. Danilchenko, chief of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Administration of Hunting and Fur Trade, and B. Petrov, author, under rubric "Seven 'Departmental Nannies' Fail to Guarantee the Efficient Use of the Wealth of the Taiga": "Running Off in All Directions..."]

[Text] In Krasnoyarsk Kray the following organizations engage in the hunting trade: in Evenki Autonomous Okrug, sovkhoses (of the former Minselkhoz [Ministry of Agriculture]); on Taymyr Peninsula, in addition to sovkhoses, the fish plants of Minrybkhoz [Ministry of the Fish Industry]; in the northern areas, the managements under the kray union of consumer fishing cooperatives and in the southern areas, those of the kray union of consumer cooperatives. In addition, there are amateur fishermen from the hunting and fishing societies and the military hunting and fishing society... How many "nannies" does that come to? Six. And it is seemingly for the sake of complete conformity to the proverb ["When there are seven nannies, the child goes unattended"] that additional state trade managements in the RSFSR Glavokhota [Main Administration of Hunting and Game Preserves] system have been created. Now the set is complete -- seven departments!

One might ask, were the state hunting managements needed if, even without them, there were so many organizations that have sent their hunters and fishers into the taiga and the tundra. It is necessary to emphasize the fundamental difference between the state hunting managements and the previous procurement offices of the consumer cooperative system. Before the beginning of the season, the procurement office used to conclude contracts with individual hunters. At the end of the season they sold the hides and were able to receive, in exchange for the money that they had been given, gunpowder and other supplies. Other than that, they were in no way obligated to one another. But the state hunting management organizes hunting while having staff workers assigned to it, and attracts amateurs.

At the state hunting management the staff workers are provided, at government expense, are provided with firearms, traps, ammunition, transportation (motorized sleds and motorboats), and work clothes, and are supplied with an electric power plant and a radio set, fuel, and fishing nets. Is it possible to travel around to the various traps by using dogs? The advanced workers at

the hunting management each have two or three snowmobiles, and whereas, on the average for the okrug, one hunter takes care of 190 polar fox traps, those at the state hunting managements are able to take care of as many as a thousand...

Hence the results: D. Zhidkov, a hunter at the state hunting management, sold the government 1200 polar fox hides, thus establishing a world record. Hunters working at the same level include B. Dautov, N. Novikov, V. Yeregin, and others...

Seven state hunting managements operate in the Yenisey taiga. It is important to emphasize not only the economic aspect of their work, but also the environmental-protection aspect. They carry out (on the basis of scientific recommendations) the regulation of the number of wild animals and the protection of them from poachers. But the new situation has a rather large number of problems.

The hunting managements gather a harvest that was "unsown." It is necessary to have special administrative methods that are not customary for other branches. Whereas the assignments for shooting wild reindeer on Taymyr Peninsula are established within the confines of scientific quotas on the basis of the results of the most recent aerial count, the shooting of polar foxes is planned in the old way, on the basis of the "fact." But now the count of polar foxes has been well established, and the forecasts of the fur "harvest" are issued for each year. It is just that the forecasts are an item in and of themselves, and so are the plans.

Or take pine nuts: everyone knows that pines bear abundantly once every 3-5 years. That is the ABC's of taiga science. But the plans prepared "in the quiet of the office," disregarding the laws of the taiga, make it mandatory every year to procure a certain average quantity of nuts. The most curious thing is that the people who issue procurement requirements such as this are completely aware of the situation. However, they throw up their hands and ask, "What can we do?" It turns out that the plan is higher than the will of man. It lives according to its own unfathomable laws... The time has come to explain, finally, that the branches that have been exploiting the researches of the wild environment, must not be run on the basis of instructions that are identical for everyone!

Incidentally, the people involved in the procurement of pine nuts do not belong to the state hunting management. They are under the jurisdiction of the timber management. In nature, the taiga is a single thing, and it is impossible to image squirrels without trees, wood grouse without berries, or elk without branches to eat. But in human life, the trees in the forest and correspondingly the cones on them are the property of the timber managements, the animals and birds are the property of the hunting management's hunter fund, and the grass on the clearings can be a sovkhos hay field -- everything is separate!

Without a doubt, the inclusion of the remaining hunting managements in the agro-industry system creates more favorable conditions for developing the taiga branch. At the new stage it represents a single system of managements

for which hunting activity occupies the leading place. It is clear that the existing division (the "seven nannies"!) has obviously outlived its age.

It is necessary to dwell particularly upon the interrelationships with the consumer cooperative system. The crux of the matter is that, prior to the arising of the state hunting managements, similar hunting managements existed. They also exist today and are called "koopzveropromkhozy" [cooperative wild animal hunting managements]. The differences between them and the state hunting managements in principle are the same as the differences between kolkhozes and sovkhazes, that is, in the form of ownership. But whereas the kolkhozes and sovkhazes used to be under the jurisdiction of the same Ministry of Agriculture, the two forms of hunting managements belong to completely different departments -- Glavokhota and Tsentosoyuz [USSR Central Union of Consumer Societies].

Today if the koopzveropromkhozy, as a hunting cooperative in the system of consumer unions, is not a foreign element, is in any instance a "cousin" element. The chief and first-priority factor for the union of consumer societies has always been trade. The time has come to think about merging the taiga hunting managements into a single state branch.

Thus, a single powerful system (with a production volume within the confines of Krasnoyarsk Kray, approximately, of 80-100 million rubles a year), under the leadership of the deputy chairman of the kray's agroindustrial committee -- that is what the organization of the taiga branch should look like under the new conditions. This question is not only a "Krasnoyarsk" question or even a "Siberian" question. The state and cooperative hunting managements exist in many krays and oblasts in almost all zones in our country. Perhaps the point of view expressed by us is debatable, but there is no doubt that there is a need to introduce order in this branch and to define who is to be the single and zealous master of the taiga.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

CARELESS CONSTRUCTION DESTROYS HISTORIC SITES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by V. Gerasimov: "Across the Protected Zone: Poorly Thought-Out Construction Is Being Carried Out Again in Pereslavl-Zalesskiy"]

[Text] The telegram seethed with anger: "For your information. When the preparatory operations are being carried out, there are deviations from the planning decisions. The landscape of the protected zone around Lake Pleshcheyevo is being disturbed, and this contradicts the status of the protected territories. Platonov."

Yu. Platonov, deputy director of GipronII [All-Union State Institute for the Planning of Scientific Research Institutes and Laboratories], USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as its chief architect, sent that telegram to three addresses: the Pereslavl city ispolkom, the Pereslavstroy Trust, and the branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Problems of Cybernetics.

Thus, the scene of the action is Pereslavl-Zalesskiy. The passions have not yet cooled concerning the ill-starred "Slavich" (on 24 April 1986 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote about this in the article "Temporary Workers") and ripples are still radiating from the stone cast at the "temporary workers," with letters of response still lying on the editor's desk, when a new plan for the new construction site appears on the agenda.

Do not fear, dear reader, because this time it is not a chemical plant. The project is completely respectable -- the Institute of Program Systems, USSR Academy of Sciences, which will arise on the base of the already existing branch of the Institute of Cybernetics. The decision to create it was adopted by a governmental decree. The choice evolved from the experience of Pushchino and Dubna. It was also taken into consideration that the respectable organization would come into the city not with empty hands. It promises to put considerable amounts of money into the construction of urban housing, the municipal management, and the protection of monuments. On the territory of the Fedorovskiy Monastery it is planned to building an international center of the CEMA countries to study artificial intelligence. The institute is not an industrial enterprise. Consequently, from the point of view of the ecology, it does not cause any alarm.

The city received the news with optimism. It is no secret that Pereslavl-Zalesskiy is the most neglected city in the Golden Ring system. To speak frankly, it lives on the strength of its former glory, like a poor son who has squandered the money inherited from his father. To say that the city's historical face looks bad is tantamount to giving it a compliment. The monuments are perishing! This summer, before the eyes of an honest person, the cupola of the Nikitskiy Monastery came crashing down. And how many more of them are silently heading for the grave? Here is an eloquent figure: out of 108 monuments that were put under protection, only 30 have had protective or memorial boards installed...

It would be naive to assume that the institute's construction is removing all the problems. However, there has appeared a real hope for at least some kind of way out.

Without sessions or minutes, but as something that was completely self-evident, a pass mark was established for the newcomers -- the highest mark. This can be stated another way: an Olympic bar was established. It is possible to jump higher, but forbidden to jump lower. The first to sense this were the construction planners. In their drawings they were required, if not to achieve the architectural heights of the past, at least not to spoil the city by their modern brainchild. It might be apropos here to mention the far-seeing Peter [the Great]: "All the projects must be in very good order, so as not to deplete our treasury unnecessarily or cause harm to the homeland."

We must pay their due to the architects at GiproNII, USSR Academy of Sciences: their brainchild, the Institute of Program Systems, is "in very good order." It is mentally inspired, the contours and manner of execution are precisely defined, but what is most important in my opinion is that they have found that invisible bridge that is able to unite the present century with the past century. The road leading to the institute was built easily and elegantly on paper.

While hearings were still in progress, the Pereslavstroy Trust began building the road. At one place the plan proposed constructing a support wall out of solid-cast concrete. Otherwise the road would be suspended in the air.

There was no solid-cast concrete capability easily at hand. Meanwhile time was passing. Well, if they couldn't have the wall, they wouldn't have it! They began digging into the slope. They dumped the dirt directly into the ravine. The construction planners gasped. It was then that the telegram went flying to the three addresses mentioned above. As a result, it will be necessary to dig the dirt out of the ravine again. The disfigured slope has been bandaged up with turf.

And so it has turned out that the "treasury was depleted unnecessarily." For little tricks like this, our great but extremely unrestrained ancestor would give the harshest reprimand to the guilty individual.

The second breakdown occurred at the Fedorovski Monastery. While the architects at TsNIIIEP [Central Scientific-Research Institute of Experimental Planning] of Trade and Public-Services Buildings and Tourist Centers, in

creative agonies (this is stated without exaggeration) were giving birth to the plan for the international center, a bulldozer started rumbling under the monastery walls. Tsentrakademstroy, without any preliminary coordination, had begun the preparatory operations.

"The monastery territory," V. Popov, the city's chief architect says indignantly, "is considered to be protected. The ground-moving operations are supposed to be carried out only in the presence of an archeologist. That's the rule. Or, if you wish, the law. But the construction workers waved their hand and ironed flat the northeastern part."

"There are, of course, mistakes...", the responsible individuals explain. "Nevertheless it is too early to begin a discussion in the press. The construction plan will be examined completely. Everything will turn out all right..."

Sooner or later. Yes, the institute and its younger brother still exist only on paper. Claims are still being made against the plan. And there are rather serious ones. RSFSR Ministry of Culture feels that it is too close to the lake, to the Petrovskiy Museum. The same opinion is expressed at RSFSR Gosstroy. The Central Council of the All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection is afraid that the construction will disfigure the natural and historical landscape, and therefore proposes locating the branch in the area of Berendeyevo station.

Today it exists on paper, and tomorrow it will exist in reality. We are reminded of that by the roar of the bulldozer at Fedorovskiy Monastery and by the ill-fated road.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

BURO DECRIES ILLEGAL DOCTORING OF PLAN STATISTICS

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 13 Nov 86

[Article: "In the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] In its regular meeting of 11 November, the Buro of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee considered the performance of the "Tallinnavtotrans" [Tallinn Motor Transport] association party committee in supporting openness in the solution of production and social problems in the labor collective. It was noted that, guided by the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the association party committee intensified its efforts in this area. Through open party, trade union, and workers meetings, agitation with visual aids, and management reports and presentations at unified political days, the workers are being informed about major production goals and about progress toward their implementation, and about progress and winners of socialist competition, and engage in discussions of anti-social phenomena.

At the same time, as the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee noted, the association party organization has been slow in restructuring its efforts to attain broader participation of workers in the discussion and solution of key production and social problems. In its propaganda and mass-political work, it has paid insufficient attention to overcoming problems and shortcomings, has failed to create an atmosphere of social condemnation with respect to individuals who have violated labor and transport discipline, and ethical standards, has failed to make public the measures which have been taken against these individuals, and to emphasize the damage resulting from their actions.

The Estonian CP Central Committee Buro has tasked the party committee of the association to further develop openness so as to create the conditions to increase activism and further democratization of the social life in the collective, to support social creativity on the part of the workers, to increase the amount of information people have concerning progressive industrial developments, introduction of autonomous financing, and conversion to the new system of labor remuneration and incentives.

It has been recommended that the association trade union committee hold open discussions of the most critical issues related to the releasing and

retraining of workers, and to allocation of living quarters, travel passes to health and tourist resorts, garden plots, and loans to young families.

The association party committee must demonstrate extensive openness and consideration of public opinion in its work with the cadres, and must take concrete measures to develop constructive and specific criticism and self-criticism in the "Tallinavtotransport" association collective.

The Estonian CP Central Committee buro, having considered issues related to the struggle against deception and distortion of data, noted that attempts to whitewash the true state of affairs and facts by distorting state statistical reports is still being eliminated at a very slow rate. The worst violations were perpetrated in the ESSR Ministry of Construction (L. Shmidt), the ESSR Ministry of Light Industry (Yu. Kraft), the ESSR Ministry of Domestic Services (V. Khalmyagi), and the ESSR Ministry of Housing and Utilities (V. Eks). Party, Soviet, and economic managers at times do not react to such manifestations with sufficient force nor do they take a stand on the basis of principle. This practice causes not only economic harm, but political and spiritual harm as well, and is becoming one of the sources of acquisition of unearned income.

The Estonian CP Central Committee Burp has ordered the party gorkoms and raykoms, and the ministries and departments of the republic to review the status of work to implement the CPSU Central Committee resolutions directed at the eradication of deception and distortion of data. The facts of deception and data distortion must be viewed not only as crimes of office, but also as serious crimes against the party and the state.

A plan concerning the measures to be taken in the struggle with these adverse phenomena was ratified.

The Estonian CP Central Committee Buro ratified measures to implement the critical observations and proposals expressed at the 4th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee. Appropriate assignments were given to the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, the ESSR Gosplan, and the ministries and departments of the republic. Deadlines were set for the implementation of the stipulated measures and those responsible for their performance were named.

In addition, other questions related to the social-political and economic life of the republic were discussed.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

ARPA-SEVAN TUNNEL COLLAPSES, 'DECEPTION' CHARGED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 40, 1 Oct 86 p 11

[Article by Zoriy Balayan: "The Moribund Spring. How I Deceived the Readers"]

[Text] For thousands, and perhaps, millions of years the high-altitude Arpa River and its tributaries created a wonder in the earth's granite layer that captivates artists even today. The deep ravines, the lava bridges, the caverns in the steep stone wall, the whirring waterfalls...The Arpa is a river that was called upon to save the moribund Sevan.

I have been all over these places and have been delighted with all of them, but every time I am sobered by the thought that the Arpa will not save the Sevan now. The donor's blood will not flow into the gasping lake which is already throbbing in agony.

"March 21 1981 in Yerevan. A warm spring day. A row of vehicles has been heading for the Sevan road since early morning. There are smiles on people's faces. No one could hide their emotions... There was not an inch of open space. People were singing and dancing... Holiday music was pouring out of the loudspeakers. The day before, the locks of the entry portal on the Kechut reservoir were opened, and after the water had moved across almost 50 kilometers in seven hours, it appeared at the exit portal. It was hard to believe that the whole river seemed to be flowing in the Sevan. It is no accident that there is saying that: "to touch with one's hands is to believe." And the people touched. They splashed their faces with the water and turned their cheeks to the sun. The more desperate ones bathed in the Sevan.

It was done.

The loudspeakers bellowed out: "Your heroic work in putting down a path through high mountains will forever be remembered by the people as a remarkable feat of our time..."

A remarkable feat.

The Sevan was saved. And it is a tangible fact that from now on, the level of the lake will not fall by a single centimeter."

That wordy quotation, unfortunately, is mine. I would be happy to deny it, but one cannot escape from the truth. I have quite deliberately indulged in self-quotation, something that principled critics call a "literary crime," because I have inadvertently deceived my readers. The Sevan has not been saved, and its water level continues to fall catastrophically. The Arpa-Sevan canal which was laid down by "heroic labor" over a period of 17 years is inoperative.

In dozens of articles about the Sevan and in a book I called "The Last Spring" I invariably expressed the idea suggested to me by the builders that "the wall facing of the tunnel would gradually be converted in the water to granite. The concrete, they said, would harden in the water for a hundred or more years, and indeed could be compared to granite. But it did not turn into stone. It didn't even harden. One could dig out fragments from the porous wall with one's finger. The concrete was not concrete. And consequently, the cement was also not cement. Perhaps the process used to make it did not conform to scientific specifications. I do not know, and I don't want to know. The only thing I know for sure is that we were cruelly deceived, and we deceived our readers. The people were deceived. They trusted us. People were glad that not only was the Sevan saved, but that the fate of the entire region was happily predetermined, as was that of the republic whose existence without the lake would be impossible to imagine.

I went down into the shaft together with First Secretary of the Martunin Party raykom Azibek Azizyan and Chairman of the rayispolkom Meruzhan Galstyan. The elevator reached a depth of 668 meters in seven minutes. Water was gushing all around us and drumming on the roof. The closer we came to the face, the stronger the sound of the water. These were springs that were coming out of the shaft walls in a resilient stream.

I walked along the entire accident area of the tunnel in high rubber boots. It was a horrifying sight. Reinforcement enveloped by deformed lumps of concrete was hanging from the walls and ceiling. In one area the entire clearance of the tunnel was blocked off by a low-hanging iron grid. The concrete was soaked with water! The very same concrete that was supposed to turn into granite! The only thing left were twisted rusted rods. In another area a raised area of the canal's concrete (?) protruded up from under the water.

I bent down and grabbed the edge with my fingers. It was about as thick as a match box. Five centimeters, maybe six. I asked of the persons walking alongside me "How thick was this supposed to be according to the plan?" They answered "Up to 25 centimeters, according to the law." I didn't want to comment. It was neither the time nor the place.

In fact I would have been right to starting talking aloud about the fact that it was not for nothing that scientists figured on these very 25 centimeters, and that they knew how much pressure the water would exert on

the this very bottom. The load was enormous. About 20 cubic meters of water per second would pass through the tunnel clearance. And it did pass through! If they had only added one centimeter. But here...

The concrete facing collapsed along a stretch of four kilometers. Almost two to three years of work on that section. Now the builders will take each step more slowly than they did when they were drilling the tunnel. Surely, they will now have double the work. The so-called concrete will have to be scraped out of the walls. If only that were all. Thus, in their apparent rush to report that the job was completed, they "forgot" to install and raise the rails and cross-ties in some places. Then concrete was simply poured from the top. Perhaps it would come down.

It didn't come down. True, no one suffered. They even received awards. But the Sevan did suffer.

So, it will be at least two years before the canal will be functional. And during that time not a single additional drop of water will get into the Sevan. In spite of this alarming situation, we are continuing to draw water from the lake for irrigation purposes. This means that during those two years the water level will fall another one and one-half to two meters. The Sevan's water level had already dropped 18 meters because of the scientists' mistake. Man has radically altered the centuries-old parameters of a living biological organism, the Sevan lake which emerged from a volcanic eruption, and which is now afflicted with an almost incurable disease.

Until very recently we were all concerned about the future fate of the lake. Costly measures were devised and implemented to raise the water level by at least six meters (instead of 18) and thereby save the Sevan. And suddenly...It has been getting more difficult from hour to hour. Not a single drop of water has been added to the lake for a whole year now. Are we supposed to wait another two years until the completion of construction before any water is added?

One can now hear that the "blame" lay with geology. It is said that the rock pressure is excessive here, and that there are all kinds of tectonic movements, and so forth. Let the specialists argue with specialists. It makes no difference to the Sevan whether the reasons that led to its present tragedy were objective or subjective ones. Thought must be given to saving the lake at the earliest possible time. There is no guarantee that the remaining 40 or more kilometers of the tunnel are in working condition. There is no longer any faith in those who so triumphantly reported the completion of construction. We know that six months after the canal started to function, it was discovered that joints of the facing were splitting in many sections. Even then the former Chief of the Operations Administration of the Sevan-Razdan Reservoirs and Arpa-Sevan Tunnel V. M. Sekoyan was heard to say that a catastrophe is inevitable any day now. So it wasn't just a case of these ill-fated four kilometers.

I arrived at the other side of the Vardenis ridge, towards the canal's entry portal. I examined the tunnel clearance together with Chief of the Kechut Sector A. Karapetyan. The workers were engaged in ...injection. So this is what injection is called. One doesn't have to have the superior hearing of a physician-therapist to surmise upon palpating the wall that the wall is completely hollow, and concrete was being poured here to the end. First they establish the diagnosis, then they drill through the wall, reach the hollow sections, and then pump fluid concrete into the bore hole. That is, they inject it. Many such hollow spots were found.

Where the numerous inspectors, controllers, and supervisors? So it seems that the judges themselves were taken for a ride, as they say. Yes, and we, the literati and journalists are to blame for overlooking a crime. We remained silent when unplanned and strange new buildings began to appear "all around" the tunnel construction site. When departmental holiday hotels began to grow like mushrooms along the shores of the shallowing lake on its former bottom.

Did anyone stop to think about what might happen? Not a single blade of grass grows without the Sevan in the Ararat valley, in this minute oasis which had become the republic's only bread basket. The fate of the 16 reservoirs already under construction that are being built for irrigation purposes and by the same token, as they say among the people, to ease the lot of the Sevan, will become alarming and problematical inasmuch as all of them are either directly or indirectly dependent upon the Sevan. Thus is the vicious circle that nature has inscribed.

Yes, the Sevan is the life of the republic. Its future is impossible without a biologically healthy lake.

What is needed is openness. Until now we have remained silent about the accident. I don't quite know what or whom we fear. We are making a recurrent mistake. If construction is going to be undertaken without controls, then a calamity will be inevitable.

The delivery schedule for concrete slabs has been outrageously disrupted. In the three summer months only 130 slabs were delivered instead of the planned 300. At that rate of delivery it will hardly be possible to finish construction in two years. But even that kind of indifference, say the young workers and builders, can be overcome. But what is one to do about what they describe as a nightmare of a situation where more than 70 out of the 130 slabs turned out to have clear defects? Slabs that are cracked and with broken off pieces. What were the suppliers thinking about at the Armenian Administration for the Construction and Installation of Hydroelectric Power Plants? They know that the slabs weigh many tons. Each slab must be separately lowered in cages to a depth of about 700 meters. Then the slabs are drawn on rails for several kilometers. Then, it suddenly becomes apparent that the slab is defective. Surely, there is nothing that can be done in such cases. One can only go around screaming at the top of his head at suppliers, let off steam, and after getting a

hold of oneself, send the slab back, raise it up the shaft, drag it to the side, and dump it on the ground. And then start all over again.

Hero of Socialist Labor and Director of the Limnology Institute Academician A. F. Treshnikov confirmed that if we don't raise the water level of the Sevan by at least six meters, the lake will very quickly suffer a biological death. We must hurry, and efforts are now in full swing to channel part of the Vorotan River flow into the Sevan. But we know that such a diversion must also be accomplished through the Kechut reservoir along the Arpa-Sevan canal. Therefore, today (and all the more so in the future) every "idle" day of the canal is a ruthless blow to the Sevan. All the more so, I say once more, because even now we are continuing to draw hundreds of millions of cubic meters of water for irrigation purposes.

They say that there is no other alternative. The agricultural production plan must be fulfilled, particularly in the Ararat valley. A plan at any price? Wouldn't it be better, given the present situation, to sit down and think about this with pencil in hand? Perhaps, besides a natural water flow, it would be better not to take another "single glass," as First Secretary of the Martunin Party raykom A. Azizyan put it. Perhaps it would make sense to reduce the area given over to industrial crops, like geraniums, tobacco, and grapes which might be replaced by less "water-intensive" crops? And of course, it is essential to use the available water efficiently, or I would say humanely. Or else, local supervisors will send telegrams directly to the republic's CP Central Committee requesting higher water rations. Otherwise, they threaten, the "plan will burn." And it is just the Sevan water that everyone wants. And they get it. Instead of the planned 250 -- 300 million cubic meters, 450 -- 500 million cubic meters are pumped out of the Sevan. This is almost three times more than the amount of water that came into the lake annually before the accident. The maximum allowances were even increased this year as the Arpa-Sevan canal sits idle, and at a time when a large amount of water was lost through evaporation in the winter because the lake was not covered by ice, and at a time when we knew that the water level of the lake was dropping before our very eyes. And it was not necessary to draw from the lake. There were reserves.

The Ararat valley has its own "minor" irrigation system. This is an artesian basin. And why not talk about reserves and storage tanks that we should keep for future use in a water-deprived region! No, the talk is about something else. That is, that the heart of the land has already been covered with wounds and destroyed, and that the water from its depths is now flowing out onto the surface. Chief of the Water Resources Department of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection O. Kirakosyan confirms that more than 2,000 wells have been drilled in the Ararat region during the last three decades alone. About 900 of them are considered to be gushers, and hundreds of wells have become untended and turning the environs into swamps.

Knowing all this, and without losing any sleep over it, supervisors get up in the morning and send telegrams at government cost with requests for additional allotments of Sevan water. How can one explain this behavior of the local supervisors? There is cynical and sacrilegious speculation about a plan whose purpose is far from truly governmental concerns. Awards are received, and after, even the grass will not grow. In fact, without the Sevan the Ararat valley will turn into a Sahara desert.

There have been recently many decrees and decisions about measures that might be taken to protect and save the Sevan. Unfortunately, one must note that not one of those plans has been seriously executed. Other decisions were just somehow ignored. It is just now, as the water level is falling again, that strict sanctions must be imposed against persons who pollute the lake. However, nothing is being done in this regard either. PRAVDA wrote about the Sevan drama in the summer: "Just what doesn't flow into the lake! Petroleum products, chemical poisons, and communal sewage...There is no serious effort to curb sanitation violations..." It would seem that at least something could have been undertaken! However, not a finger was lifted by the numerous departments responsible for the condition of the water, the fish, and the basin's ecology. The republic newspaper KOMMUNIST and the organ of the Armenian Writers' Union GRAKAN TERT reported how an unending flow of tourists in automobiles have been barbarically polluting the lake. And once again, if only something were done about it. There are exactly seven organizations that are supposed to managing the Sevan. It is in fact a case of too many cooks that are spoiling the broth.

In considering the tragic situation of the alpine lake that has been willfully brought about by humans, it seems to me that it is essential to organize a national-republic commission to save this invaluable biological asset and declare the canal construction project to be an emergency, national undertaking in order to accelerate the restoration operations. And finally, the diversion of water for any purpose whatever should be halted completely until such time as the Arpa-Sevan canal begins to function. We must go to that extent. There is no other alternative. One must not forget that the Sevan is the last spring for Armenia. It is a dying spring. The lake basin should be closed for several years.

The fate of Sevan should be the concern of one, and only one organization that should bear full state responsibility for the resolution of all problems connected with the protection of the region's water resources.

Life itself obligates us to take extreme measures no matter how difficult they might be. Procrastination would be immoral.

One wise person said that the present is the last day of the past, but another noted that the present is the first day of the future. And that day has already begun. We must act with all our energy for the sake of the future in which our children, in the words of Maxim Gorky, will be our judges.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF POST-SNOWFALL FLOODS IN GEORGIA

Patiashvili, Others Visit Sites

LD311733 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1652 GMT 31 Jan 87

[Text] Tbilisi, 31 Jan (TASS)--After protracted snowfalls there was heavy rain on the night of 29 January in many regions of the Soviet Caucasian Republic of Georgia, which caused snows to melt and floods. Rivers flooded their banks. The water flooded a large territory. It poured into the basements of houses and public buildings; power lines were damaged. The national economy has suffered considerable damage. Agricultural land, livestock and poultry farms were flooded. Work at several enterprises has been temporarily halted. There are human casualties in mountain regions.

The danger has not yet passed. The republic's weather center is urgently transmitting appropriate warnings and recommendations to the afflicted regions. Everywhere people are manifesting endurance and selflessness as well as a high degree of organization. The republic and local headquarters for combating the elements are operating efficiently. Helicopters have flown from Tbilisi to the regions threatened by avalanches, in order to provoke artificial falls of masses of snow. Dzhumbar Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, and other republic leaders have gone to the places afflicted by the natural disaster.

Flood Damage, Relief Effort Detailed

PM040925 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent T. Chanturiya dispatch under the rubric "On-the-Spot Report": "The Second Onslaught of the Elements"]

[Text] Having barely recovered from the unprecedented January snowfalls, avalanches, and snowdrifts, many rayons in Georgia are again being subjected to a dangerous onslaught of the elements.

This time the trouble is caused by heavy rains--an unusual phenomenon in the mountains in winter.... The rains have "unfettered" the snow masses and turned them into swirling waterfalls pouring into rivers. The Kvirila,

Tekhuri, Khanistskali, and Abashistskali Rivers, which are normally tranquil until the spring high water, have risen unusually high for this time of year (the Kvirila River, for instance, has risen 4-5 meters above its normal level in the area of Zestafoni City). Large areas in Sachkhere, Samtredskiy, Tskhakayevskiy, and Makharadzevskiy Rayons have been flooded. The lower stories of buildings in Chiatura and Zestafoni are under water, electricity and water supplies have been affected, work has been suspended at a number of enterprises, and railroad communications have been disrupted. The paramount concern everywhere now is to make contact with all, even the remotest settlements, to evacuate people from danger zones, and to give every possible assistance to those who have become homeless....

Not until Sunday evening was I able to get through on the telephone to N. Odishvili, first secretary of the Dushetskiy Raykom.

We have just managed to bypass a large landslide on the Ananuri-Pasanauri Road. The first trucks have been dispatched, he said. In the danger area around Mleta village helicopter pilots and specialists of the hydrometeorological service are getting ready to bring down avalanches artificially. The village itself is heavily snowed under but the road to the village has been kept open throughout. Along this road we are sending in help in the form of machinery and people. Mountaineers are at work. It has been possible to prevent casualties.... An avalanche by the bridge buried 13 year-old Kakha Burduli, but after 3 hours of continuous search the boy was dug out and rescued.... Food and fuel supplies for the mountain dwellers have been brought in. And so has feed for the livestock, although in some cases the livestock simply cannot be reached.

Special rescue teams have been dispatched to remote villages in Gudamakarskiy Gorge and along the route of the Transcaucasian railroad under construction.

The danger persists and is exacerbated by falls of wet snow and sleet. However, it can be assumed that the first onslaught is over.

Alarming reports are coming in from high-altitude Ambrolaurskiy Rayon. At least 80 families have been evacuated from danger zones. Unfortunately, there are casualties. The evacuation continues.

The inhabitants of Zestafoni city and the surrounding villages were probably the most affected by the destructive force of the flood waters. I have spoken on the telephone to D. Gorgodze, first secretary of the Zestafonskiy Raykom. "In Shorapani settlement," he told me, "the river burst its banks and swept away the main bridge. A number of 'hanging' bridges remain in the area. In the city itself the main street, Rustaveli Street, turned into a proper river within hours. The critical rise in the water level occurred in the middle of the night, and the evacuation of people began without delay. The weathermen had forecast a possible emergency, our equipment was ready.... We managed to fight our way through to every house and evacuate around 150 people, and the city operational headquarters then helped to contact their relatives and to settle people in safe areas. Emergency services went into action

without delay, and hundreds of the city's inhabitants joined the struggle against the elements. Within a very short time it was possible to restore the electricity supply and railroad service. As for the water supply, the situation is not so good. Two pumping stations have been flooded, therefore all efforts are now concentrated on pumping out the water. This work is nearly completed.... The damage, it must be admitted, is great. The ferro-alloy plant stood idle for 24 hours. Shops at the Gruzkael plant, where some of the equipment has been flooded, are not yet back in operation."

The raykom secretary said that a shock labor watch has been declared in the city. Republic ministries and departments are taking part in the restoration work and the provision of essential goods to the population. But that applies to all other affected rayons. Republic party and government leaders have visited the disaster area. A republic staff is masterminding the elimination of the consequences of the natural disaster.

The water level in the rivers has now subsided noticeably. However, the danger of flooding persists in the lower reaches of the Rioni and Inguri Rivers, and in the mountains there is the threat of more avalanches. The weather forecast does not inspire hope either: The weathermen are again expecting more storm activity.

Murakhovskiy Comments on Relief Work

LD082159 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 6 February, in its VREMYA newscast, broadcasts a 2-minute report by correspondent Sulkhanishvili from the airfield at Kutaisi, Soviet Georgia, on the rescue and rehabilitation work under way following recent snowstorms. The report begins by showing two MI-8 military helicopters maneuvering on the Kutaisi landing strip; blue and white Aeroflot MI-8 helicopters also are shown, men in military uniform moving away from one of them. Sulkhanishvili says if a helicopter comes in to land from the north, that means it was in the mountains of Svanetia, where snow avalanches have caused havoc; and if it arrives from the south, then it has on board victims of the floods in the Kolkhida Valley rescued from islets in the whole vast territory from Imeretia, Guria, Mingrelia right as far as Adzharia. The video shows a person on a stretcher being carried into an ambulance on the airstrip and men rolling metal drums into helicopter freight holds.

Work has been going on for a month now, the correspondent says, with airmen, doctors, and students having now gotten into an automatic working rhythm. This afternoon, helicopters landed by the dam which is being hastily erected to hold back the flood waters on the Rioni River, which has flooded to the dimensions of the Volga River. The video shows shots of earth-moving machinery.

The correspondent goes on to say: "At the airport, we meet the members of the government commission headed by Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's Gosagroprom." The video shows Murakhovskiy and other officials emerging from a blue and

white Aeroflot MI-8; Marakhovskiy is interviewed in a parking lot, with the noise of helicopters in background.

Murakhovskiy says: "It can now be said that the situation is returning to normal; assistance is being given to the population. Unfortunately, more than 1,500 individual homes were damaged. The inhabitants are now in need of effective support and aid. Of course, a great deal of effort is still required in order to rehabilitate the damaged livestock farming premises, to restore the roads and the power transmission lines, and bring all work back to normal."

More Than 7,000 Evacuated From Area

LD081513 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 8 Feb 87

[Text] Tbilisi February 8 TASS--For more than a month now, a large part of Georgia (Soviet Transcaucasus) has been swept by snowstorms. Temperatures of 40 degrees below zero in the European part of the USSR sharply changed the direction of the cyclones born over the Atlantic. Their invasion across the Black Sea into the air space in the Transcaucasus caused avalanches in the mountains and floods in valleys. Whole villages were taken down, there are human casualties and the damage done to the economy is estimated at tens of millions of roubles.

The mountainous Svanetia, a mecca of Soviet mountain climbers, is suffering from a most severe snow siege. The snow blanket is five metres thick there. Avalanches occur in most unexpected places, wiping off forests and buildings. More than seven thousand people have been evacuated by helicopters. Another thousand people are awaiting their turn. Women, children and old people are leaving their home parts. Men working shoulder to shoulder with rescuers, who came from different corners of this country, are struggling through to the villages, to which there is no access even by air.

A TASS correspondent arrived in district centre Mestia together with a rescue team. The local inhabitants are provided with everything necessary--foods, medicines and warm clothes. There is no panic.

An avalanche covered the village of Ushguli (2,300 metres above sea level), Europe's highest. Only four out of 42 homes have remained undamaged. The inhabitants wanted in advance, succeeded in fleeing to safety. The destiny of Georgia's famous temple in that village remains unknown so far. The temple was known to contain ancient books, valuable icons and ancient church plates. They were brought there way back in the Middle Ages when valuable national artifacts were taken there under the protection of courageous mountain dwellers at the time of enemy inroads. The name Ushguli means in translation a fearless heart. A team of volunteers is making its way to Ushguli.

Everything humanly possible is done to save people, said Otar Cherkezia, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Georgia, who visited all disaster areas. Yet we are in for difficult days: the weather forecast is unconsoling," he said.

Murakhovskiy, Patiashvili Interviewed

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 9 February 1987 carries on page 8 a 1,200-word article by PRAVDA special correspondent V. Chebakov entitled "Face to Face With Calamity" under the rubric "Exceptional Situation." The article notes that more than 260 avalanches have fallen on the Georgian Military Highway and that over the course of 4 days 6 months' worth of precipitation has fallen.

Chebakov reports on an evening meeting of the governmental commission to liquidate the consequences of the natural calamity, headed by Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy. Murakhovskiy is quoted on the extent of the flooding (the Rioni River is flowing at a rate of more than 4,000 cubic meters per second, which exceeds the "maximum" rate of 3,500), on the fact that the hydropower plant has survived the ordeal, on the bravery of the rescuers, and on government assistance to the victims. "Tsentsosoyuz is delivering construction materials to be sold to residents--wood, glass, cement, slate, livestock feed. Work is organized and energetic. Staffs are acting precisely." "People are working, but the calamity has still not gone away..."

Chebakov also quotes Georgian CP First Secretary Dzhumber Ilich Patiashvili: "Large problems face the republic. I would like to note in particular that the entire country has responded to our calamity. There is much to do everywhere, but there is no oblast or republic which has not expressed a desire to help us. Telegrams have come in from doctors in Moscow, Lipetsk, Leningrad, and other towns who are ready to fly out to help. Money for the victims has come in. The great calamity has once again illuminated the unity of the people. The residents thank the party and the government for their aid and attention. The people have stood their ground, but the losses are great...."

Recovery Underway, 16,000 Evacuated

PM131439 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Feb 87 p 4

[Correspondent O. Chikhladze report under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Unity"]

[Text] Kutaisi--The elements, which struck a succession of blows in the mountains and the valley, have inflicted great damage on the Georgian national economy. According to preliminary figures the floods, avalanches of snow, landslides, and mudslides have destroyed more than 2,000 individual dwellings and damaged over 3,000 more. Many production buildings, livestock premises, and other installations have been affected. Much livestock has been killed and 80,000 hectares of plowland, orchards, and plantations have been damaged. Many kilometers of highways, electric powerlines, and telephone lines have been put out of action. In this far from complete list of the after-effects of the prolonged assault by the elements, the most tragic result has been that of human casualties.

Restoration work is in progress in Sveneti and Khobskiy, Galskiy, Samtredskiy, Zestafonskiy, and other rayons and people are vigorously preparing to meet a possible attack from the blind forces of nature. Z. Chkheidze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, told your TRUD correspondent how this work is being done:

It may now be said with the utmost certainty that the scale of the damage and the number of casualties could have been immeasurably greater. People recovered quickly from the initial shock and are now working with the utmost cohesion and energy. Rayon staffs, ministries, and departments are taking prompt and exclusively correct decisions in the most unexpected situations. Resources, food, and medicines are being allocated and delivered to the afflicted regions without delay. More than 16,000 people have by now been evacuated from the flood and avalanche zone. All services have been mobilized to restore communications and the supply of power, water, and heat. A system has been developed for maintaining communications with mountain settlements cut off from the highways by avalanches. Mountaineers and doctors are being ferried there by helicopter.

The rebuilding of industrial enterprises is proceeding rapidly. The Zestafonskiy Ferroalloy Plant, whose shop was flooded by the river which overflowed, began producing again within 24 hours with active assistance from Gruzenergo specialists and the local population. The Zestafoni Cable Plant, four mines in Chiatura, and other enterprises were repaired in a very short time.

The republic is receiving great assistance these days from the USSR Ministry of Railways and the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction. The rebuilding of damaged sections of track in the Tskhakaya, Poti, and Chiatura regions has been under the direct leadership of deputy ministers V. Arkatov and G. Falaleyev. Trains were traveling in these sectors, although at reduced speed, within hours of the landslides and floods which descended on the tracks.

The critical situation was also soon eliminated in the Krestovyy Pass, where damaged power lines halted the work of the gas pipeline compressor station.

People in the republic and throughout the country have regarded the plight of the afflicted regions as though it were their own. Several million rubles have already been sent in from all four corners of the country to Gosbank account No 700, which was opened by popular demand. Telegrams have been coming in from many cities and villages offering the victims accommodation. Working people in Dmanisskiy, Tsalkskiy, Bolnisskiy, Gardabanskiy, Sagared-zhoyskiy, and a whole series of other rayons, whose turn to receive apartments had come, gave their new homes to evacuees from the disaster zone. The Potreboysuz board, the Ministry of Local Industry, the Ministry of the Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Trade, and other departments and organizations provided furniture, bedding, clothes, kitchen and other utensils from their own resources for people made homeless.

The situation remains complex. The main task now is to guard against another onslaught by the elements. Bad flooding is highly likely in Kolkhida and

suburban regions as the thaw sets in. The damaged embankments along the Rioni River are being repaired and reinforced at an accelerated pace to prevent the river from overflowing. Labor collectives of the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Georgian Main Administration for Water Resources Construction, and the Kolkhide Construction Administration are working round the clock here. An action program has been worked out in the most minute detail to keep losses from possible future natural disasters to a minimum.

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